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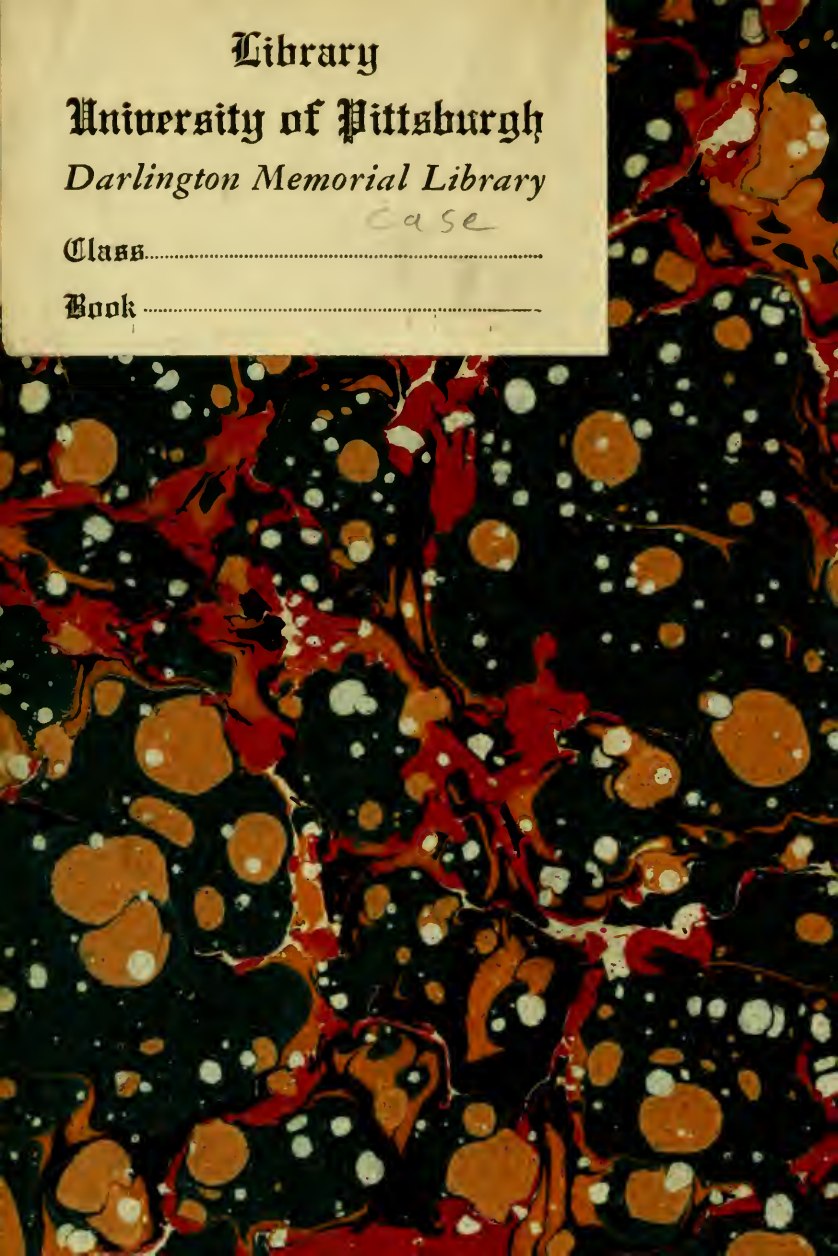
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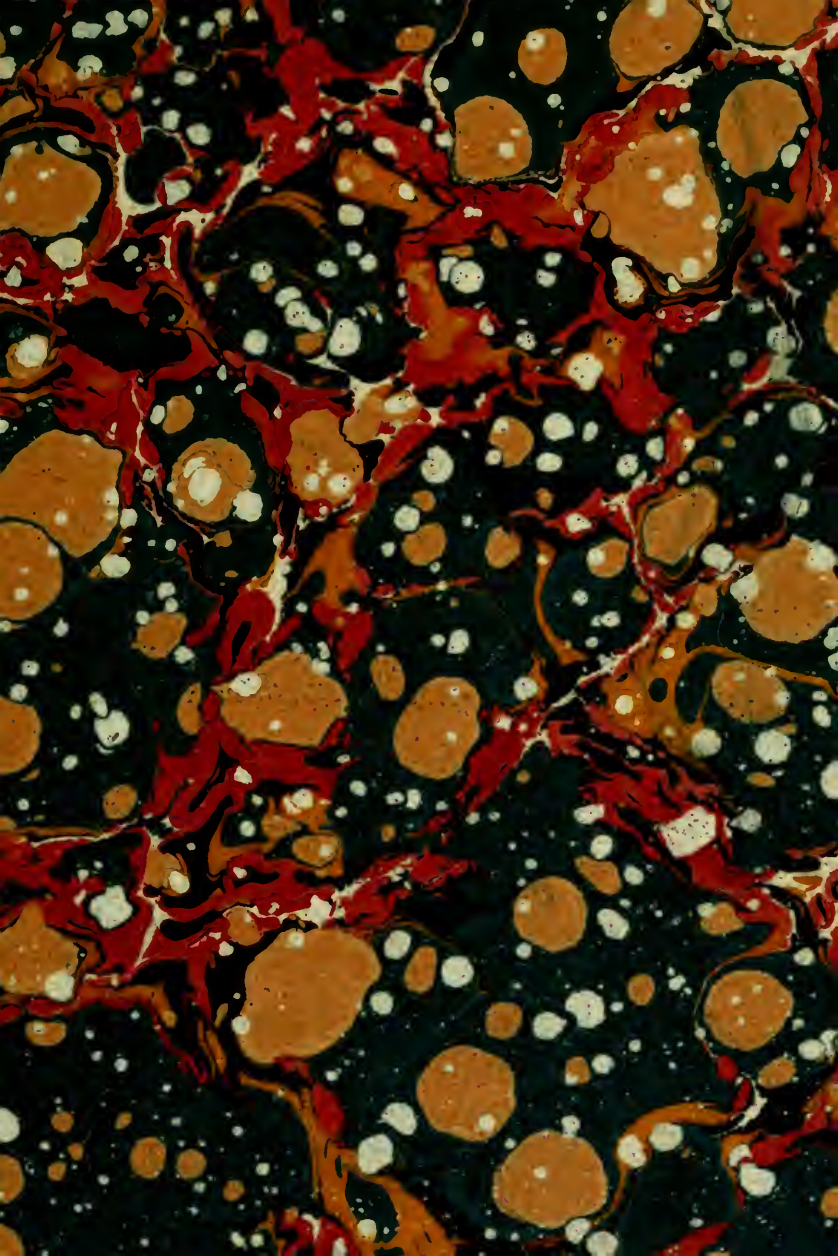
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A BRIEF
S T A T E
Of the PROVINCE of
PENNSYLVANIA.

[Price One Shilling.]

STATUTE

OF THE

OF THE

S T A T E
OF THE
P R O V I N C E
O F
PENNSYLVANIA,
IN WHICH

The Conduct of their ASSEMBLIES for several Years past is impartially examined, and the true Cause of the continual Encroachments of the *French* displayed, more especially the secret Design of their late unwarrantable Invasion and Settlement upon the River *Ohio*.

To which is annexed,

An easy PLAN for restoring Quiet in the public Measures of that Province, and defeating the ambitious Views of the *French* in time to come.

In a LETTER from a Gentleman who has resided many Years in *Pennsylvania* to his Friend in *London*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS at the *Dunciad*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1755.

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A B R I E F

S T A T E

Of the PROVINCE of

P E N S Y L V A N I A .

Dear Sir,

IN your last, you was pleased to desire some Account of the State of *Pensylvania*, together with the Reasons why we, who are esteemed one of the richest Colonies in *North America*, are the most backward in contributing to the Defence of the *British* Dominions in these Parts, against the present unwarrantable Invasions of the *French*. As I have been many Years a Spectator, and I think an impartial one, of the public Measures pursued in this Province,

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I shall

I shall very readily satisfy your whole Desire. We are now in an alarming Situation, but we have brought the Evil upon ourselves, and Things are now come to that Crisis, that if I was under no Obligation to satisfy your Expectations, yet I should deem my Silence an unpardonable Neglect of the Duty I owe to my Country.—

You were rightly informed when you were told that, of all the *British* Colonies in *North America*, *Pensylvania* is the most flourishing. Its Staple is chiefly Provisions, of which it produces enough to maintain itself, and a Hundred thousand Men besides. From the Port of *Philadelphia*, at least 400 Sail of Vessels clear out annually. The Inhabitants are computed at about Two hundred and twenty thousand, of whom, it is thought near one half are *Germans*. Of the Residue not quite two Fifths are *Quakers*. Above that Number are *Presbyterians*; and the remaining Fifth are of the *establisht Church*, with some few *Anabaptists*.

The

The Legislature is composed of a Governor and Assembly ; but the Council makes no Part of it. The Assembly are chosen annually, and claim a Right, by Charter, to sit on their own Adjournment, without being prorogued or dissolved by their Governors, although the *Attorney-General* of *England*, and many other eminent Lawyers, have given their Opinion to the contrary. The Powers they enjoy are extraordinary, and some of them so * repugnant, that they are the Source of the greatest Confusion in the Government. In order clearly to make this out, we must look backward a considerable number of Years.

As the Colony was first settled chiefly by *Quakers*, the Powers of Government rested for the most Part in them ; which they conducted with great Mildness and Prudence, not having as yet conceived any Thoughts of turning *Religion* into a *political Scheme for Power*.

* In some Instances they have both a *legislative* and *executive* Power.

A great many Circumstances concurred to fix them in the good Opinion of the World. The First of this Profession strove to recommend themselves by their strict Honesty, and were a sober, thoughtful People. The civil Constitution was then in its Infancy, and its Principles sound. No great Art was required in the Administration of it, and no bad Effects were felt from the extraordinary Privileges granted to the People, for the more expeditious Settlement of the Colony.

Those, who have made Politics their Study, know very well, that Infant-Settlements flourish fastest under a Government leaning to the republican or popular Forms, because such a Government immediately interests every Individual in the common Prosperity, and settles itself at once on a broad and firm Basis. Moreover, the People being but few, and but small Profit in public Offices, the Government may also be administer'd without the Faction and Anarchy incident to popular Forms. But in Proportion as a Country grows rich and
popu-

populous, more Checks are wanted to the Power of the People; and the Government, by nice Gradations, should verge more and more from the popular to the mixt Forms. Thus it may happen that a Constitution which shall preserve *Liberty* and excite *Industry* in any Country, during its Infancy, shall be prejudicial to both, when Circumstances are altered.

For these Reasons, a civil Constitution can neither be preserved nor completed; unless, in the Distribution or Lodgment of Power, nice Regard is paid to all the Fluctuations in Trade, Property, and other Casualties; and should either Wisdom or Opportunities be wanting to adjust the Constitution to these Circumstances, it must fall naturally into Convulsions; and, unless it is able to purge itself thro' the Strength of its *Stamina*, it must linger into certain Dissolution. Upon these Principles, all the Flux and Revolutions of Empires may be accounted for.

Now to apply these Maxims to *Pensylvania*. The *Quakers*, as was hinted, could not fail to get Credit by their Administration,

tion, under the above-mentioned Circumstances. Their Successors, who were quite a different Sort of Men from the Founders of this Province, finding themselves established, quickly enlarged their Views, and have continued the Power in their own Hands till this Time, without leaving a Chance for those Struggles and Contentions about it, by means of which the Constitution might have been purged, improved, and adapted to the Change of Circumstances.

Thus, in direct Contradiction to the Rule laid down above, the People, instead of being subjected to more Checks, are under fewer than at first; and their Power has been continually increasing with their Numbers and Riches, while the Power of their Governors, far from keeping Pace with theirs, has rather been decreasing in the same Proportion ever since. The Consequence of this is clear. The Government, instead of drawing nearer to the *mixt Forms*, as it ought in Proportion to its Growth, is now, in fact, more a *pure Republic*, than when there were not ten thousand Souls in it. The Inconveniencies of this

this we now begin to feel severely, and they must continually increase with the Numbers of the People, till the Government becomes at last so unwieldly as to fall a Prey to any *Invader*, or sink beneath its own Weight, unless a speedy Remedy is applied.—

Tho' many Circumstances concurred to bring us into this sad State, yet the chief Source of the Evil was what follows:

In the Year 1723, the old Proprietor *William Penn*, being lately dead, and his next Heirs, at Law among themselves about the Government and Soil, Sir *William Keith*, who was then Governor, falling into the Hands of the Assembly, passed a Law, giving them the sole Disposal of all public Money, in manifest Contempt of all the Instructions of the Proprietary Family.

This entirely completed the Scheme of Power our Assemblies had been long aiming at, by rendering all succeeding Governors; and all the Officers of the Province, dependent upon them; for now they annually either vote or with-hold the Salaries
of

of the Governor and all such Officers, according as they are, or are not, the Creatures of the Assembly. And indeed most of them must be so; for our Assemblies have wrested, out of the Hands of the Governor, the Nomination of a great many of the * Officers that hold the most lucrative Posts in the Government.

Possessed of such unrestrained Powers and Privileges, they seem quite intoxicated; are factious, contentious, and disregard the Proprietors and their Governors. Nay, they seem even to claim a kind of Independency of their Mother-Country, despising the Orders of the Crown, and refusing to contribute their Quota, either to the general Defence of *America*, or that of their own particular Province.

As a glaring Instance of the former, I need only mention their Opposition to Governor *Thomas*, in raising Soldiers to send against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, and their absolute Refusal to contribute a Farthing for that Service. Since that Time, during

* Such as the Provincial Treasurer; the Trustees of the *Loan-Office*; the Collector of the Excise, Brander of Flour, Brander of Beef and Pork, Health-Officer, &c.

during the whole Course of the late War, they have often been called upon by the Crown, and by Governor *Shirley* of the *Massachusetts*, for the Expedition against *Cape-Breton*, &c. To all which, if they have at any Time contributed, it has been done indirectly, and in a Manner shameful to this rich Province; so grudgingly, and in such small Sums, as rather to hurt than serve the common Cause.

Forgetful of the public Good, they seem wholly to have employed themselves in grasping after Power; altho' it is plain they have already too much of this, and such as is really inconsistent and self-destructive.

Nor have they been more attentive to the Defence of their own particular Province, than of his Majesty's *American* Dominions, in general.

In *Pensylvania*, we have but one small Fortification, and that raised and supported at the Expence of private People. The Proprietors, indeed, generously made us a Present of twelve large Cannon, part of the twenty-six we have mounted, and they have

also given the Gunner of the Fort a Salary of twenty Pounds *per Annum* towards his Support †. We are otherwise entirely naked, without Arms or Ammunition, and exposed to every Invasion, being under no Obligation to military Duty. In the last War, one of the *Spanish* Privateers came up the *Delaware*, within a few Miles of this City; and when those, who were not *Quakers*, took the Alarm, and associated themselves for the Defence of the Country, they not only received no Encouragement from the Assembly, but were abused and reproached for their Pains, and the *Dutch* or *Germans* kept back from joining in the Association, by all possible under-hand Practices.

The

† The honourable Proprietors also proposed to our Assembly five Years ago, That if the Assembly would give Money for building a Strong-House on the *Ohio* (not venturing to call it Fort, or any Thing that implied Defence) they, the said Proprietors would, on their Part, contribute any reasonable Proportion to the building and supporting of the said Strong-House. But this Proposal, like many others, was rejected with Scorn, merely, perhaps, because it came from the Proprietors; nor was it so much as thought worthy of a Place in their Minutes; though it is clear, if it had been complied with, the *French* had not now been fortified in the same River, as they now are.

The *French*, well apprized of this defenceless and disjointed State, and presuming on the religious Principles of our ruling People, have, the Year before last, invaded the Province, and have actually three Forts, now erected far within the Limits of it. Justly, therefore, may we presume that, as soon as War is declared, they will take Possession of the whole, since they may really be said to have stronger Footing in it than we, having three Forts in it supported at public Expence, and we but one small Fort, supported only by private Gentlemen.

'Tis true our Neighbours, the *Virginians*, have taken the Alarm, and called on our Assistance to repell the common Enemy, knowing that if the *French* hold Footing in *Pensylvania*, their Turn must be next. In like manner, the several Governors, and ours among the rest, have received his Majesty's gracious Orders to raise Money, and the armed Force of their respective Governments on such an Emergency; and had these Orders been complied with last Winter, the *French* would neither have been able to drive the *Virginians* from the

Fort they had begun in the back Parts of *Pensylvania*, nor yet to get Possession of one third Part of the Province, which they now have undoubtedly got thro' the Stubborness and Madness of our Assemblies.

But here two Questions will naturally arise.

1. Why are our Assemblies against defending a Country, in which their own Fortunes and Estates lie, if it is really in Danger?

2. Why have not the several Sums been accepted, which they have offered for the King's Use?

With regard to the first, it may seem a *Solecism* in Politics, for a People not to defend their own Property when it is actually *invaded*, unless they were certain of the Friendship of the *Invaders*.

I shall not, however, be so uncharitable as to suppose our political *Quakers* reckon it indifferent, whether, or not, the *French* shall make themselves Masters of this Province,

vince, notwithstanding Persons at a Distance may be apt to judge so for the following Reasons. 1st, From the continued Refusal of our Assemblies to defend the Province. 2^{dly}, From the extraordinary Indulgence and Privileges granted to *Papists* in this Government:—Privileges plainly repugnant to all our political Interests, considered as a Frontier-Colony, bordering on the *French*, and one half of the People an uncultivated Race of *Germans*, liable to be seduced by every enterprizing Jesuit, having almost no Protestant Clergy among them to put them on their Guard, and warn them against Popery.

Tho' this might be insinuated, yet from Observation I have Reason to believe, that most of the *Quakers* without Doors are really against Defence from Conscience and their religious Tenets; but for those within Doors, I cannot but ascribe their Conduct rather to Interest than Conscience.

Our Assemblies apprehend, that as soon as they agree to give sufficient Sums for the regular Defence of the Country, it would strike at the Root of all their Power, as
Quakers,

Quakers, by making a *Militia-Law* needful, in Time of Danger. Such a Law, they presume, would alter the whole Face of Affairs, by creating a vast Number of new Relations, Dependencies, and Subordinations in the Government. The *Militia*, they suppose, would all vote for Members of Assembly, and being dependent on their Officers, would probably be influenced by them. The Officers, again, as they imagine, would be influenced by the Government; and thus the *Quakers* fear they would soon be out-voted in most Places. For this Cause, they will suffer the Country to fall into the last Extremity, hoping that when it is so, our Neighbours will, for their own Sakes, defend it, without obliging them to pass a Law, which, they fear, would so soon strip them of their darling Power. But this Backwardness of theirs has quite a contrary Effect; for the neighbouring Colonies, seeing this Colony, that is immediately attacked, doing nothing, refuse to exert themselves for a People, who are able, but unwilling, to defend themselves.

Thus much in answer to the *first* Question.

With

With regard to the *second*, little need be said to shew why the Monies they have offered for the King's Service never could be accepted of. For while they have the foresaid Apprehensions from a Law for the Defence of the Country, it must be plainly repugnant to their Interest, ever to offer Money for this Purpose, unless in such a Manner as they know to be inconsistent with the Duty of a Governor to pass their Bill into a Law. This will be fully understood from what follows, which will also shew by what Means they save Appearances among the People, without doing any Thing for the Public,

There was a royal Instruction sent to all the *English* Governors in *America*, upon the humble Address of the Lords and Commons, signifying, That under Pain of his Majesty's highest Displeasure, they shall not pass any Act for the Emission of Paper-Money, without a suspending Clause, that it shall not take Effect till his Majesty's Pleasure is known. Since that Time, upon Petition of the chief Merchants in *England*, an Act of Parliament was passed, entirely restraining

restraining the four *New-England* Colonies from emitting any Paper-Bills at all, except in the Case of an Invasion, or some great Emergency, and then the same to be sunk in a few Years. But the *Southern* Provinces still continue under the Force of the Instruction.

Our late Governor, Mr. *Hamilton*, upon receiving his Majesty's Orders to arm the Province, solicited the Assembly last Winter, to raise Money, and enable him to pay a proper Obedience to the royal Commands; but they totally disregarded him, and adjourned themselves. Upon receiving an Account that the *French* had driven the *Virginians* from their Fort, he again called the Assembly, conjured them to obey his Majesty's Orders, and demonstrated the imminent Danger to which their Refusal would expose not only themselves, but all the *British* Colonies. He at the same Time let them know, that tho' his Instructions restrained him from passing any Paper Money at all without a suspending Clause, yet, in the present pressing Emergency, he would risque it, provided they would vote handsomely, and sink it within the Time prescribed

bed by Act of Parliament, in the Case of *New-England*. Then; and not till then, they voted 10,000 *l.* for his Majesty's Use, redeemable by the Excise in twelve Years, for which Time the Bills were to be sunk annually in equal Proportions.

In that Space the Excise would raise 45,000 *l.* viz. 10,000 *l.* for the King's Use, and the remaining 35,000 *l.* would have been at their own Disposal for what Uses they might think fit.

The Governor, therefore, justly considered, that if he should pass this Bill, it would be giving the Government out of his Hands, and rendering himself and his Successors entirely unnecessary in the Administration for twelve Years. It would be putting 35,000 *l.* into the Hands of the Assembly, still more to increase their Power, and lay out in Schemes to abridge the Powers of their Proprietors and Governors; for tho' the Preambles to all our Money-Acts, and to the Excise, say that the Interest-Money, and what arises from the Excise, are to be applied to the Support of Government; yet they apply

it as they please, viz. to distress all who oppose their Measures, and for building Hospitals, purchasing Lands, Libraries, &c.

For these Reasons, and considering also that the Money was to continue seven Years longer than the Act of Parliament allows, the Governor refused his Assent; upon which they adjourned, altho' they knew very well before they proposed the Bill, that he could not give his Assent, without incurring his Majesty's highest Displeasure.

Upon the News of *Washington's* Defeat, last Summer, the Governor again summoned them, and intreated them to consider the melancholy Situation of Affairs, and fall upon Ways and Means to repel the Enemy, consistent with his Duty to pass it; he having, in the mean Time, received Sir *Dudley Rider's* Opinion, that he could not, with Safety to himself, pass such an Act as they wanted. They then voted him 15,000 *l.* to be raised exactly as before, being certain the Governor could not venture to pass it. Accordingly, upon his Refusal, they again adjourned,

adjourned, and to intimidate other Governors from daring to dispute their Commands, with-held his yearly Salary.

Mr. *Hamilton*, a Gentleman of great Honor, Probity, and good Sense, having for some Time foreseen, that with such an obstinate and perverse People, he could never, as Governor, enjoy Ease to himself, nor be in a Capacity either to obey the King's Instructions. or be of any real Service to the Province his native Country, had wrote over to the Proprietors to send him a Successor, assuring them he would no longer continue to act as Governor.

Upon the Appointment of the Proprietors, he was accordingly succeeded by the Hon. *Robert Hunter Morris*, Esq;

This Gentleman, upon his coming into the Government, immediately spoke, in the most pathetic Terms, to the new Assembly, composed of the old Members.—

After a short Adjournment, they met and offered a Bill for 20,000*l.* conceived in the same Terms as before, *viz.* to make the Paper-Money extend for twelve Years, though the new Governor had told them before-hand, that he was subjected to the same Instructions as his Predecessors, and could not pass any such Bill into a Law.

Thus their whole Conduct has been of a Piece in this Country, tho' I am well assured it is very much disapproved of and condemned by their Brethren the *Quakers* in *England*, who are justly esteem'd a quiet and upright People, such as we already observ'd the first *Quakers* in this Province were. It is very plain they have no mind to give a single Shilling for the King's Use, unless they can thereby increase their own Power; but they keep continually voting Money in order to keep the People on their Side, who not being well enough acquainted with the Nature of Government, to understand why the Money-Bills cannot be passed, think every such Rejection of a Money-Bill,

Bill, a Design against their Liberties, and throw the whole Blame upon their Proprietors and Governors, treating their Names in the most insolent and contemptuous Manner.

Hence it is that this Province is reduced to the most miserable Condition.— The People at Variance, and distrustful of each other! A *French* Enemy and their Savage Allies advanced far into our Territory! The People on our Frontiers liable to be murdered or driven from their Habitations! Our Lives and all our sacred Rights exposed an easy Prey!—And all this owing to the Infatuation and detestable Policy of a Set of Men who mind no Consequences, provided they can secure their own Power and their Seats in Assembly.

A Petition from a Thousand of these poor Families, who inhabit the back Parts of the Colony, was presented to the Assembly, last *August*, soon after *Washington's* Defeat, praying that they might be furnished with Arms and Ammunition for
 4 their

their Defence ; but the Petition was rejected with Scorn. Our *Indian* Allies have often desired us to build Forts, to which their Wives and Children might fly in time of Danger, and have just * now sent down to the Governor, begging he would direct the Building a *Stockade*, or wooden Fort, in which they offer to defend themselves and us, from the Incursions of the Enemy ; but the Assembly, to be consistent with themselves, and shew that they are religiously bent on the Ruin of their Country, refused to give any Money for this Purpose, and gave the *Indians* for Answer, that if they were afraid of the Enemy, they might retire farther down, and come within the settled Parts of the Province.

Thus the noblest Opportunity was lost that could have been offered, of keeping our *Indians* steady, and for building a Fort at a small Expence, in a Pass so commodiously situated between the Mountains, that it would have effectually covered and defended two of our Frontier Counties, from

* December 1754.

from the Inroads of the *French* and their *Indians*.

From what has been said, it clearly appears how much we suffer by having all public Monies in such Hands. Were the Case otherwise, Matters might be managed with Secresy, Ease, Expedition, Success, and a small Expence, by embracing the proper Opportunities. But these Opportunities, being once lost, are often never to be recalled, as is too well confirmed by the Settlements of the *French* at *Crown-Point* and on the *Ohio*, both which might have been prevented at first, with one fiftieth Part of the Expence it will now take to dislodge them, had not the Hands of all our Governors been tied up, by having the Disposal of no Monies on such Emergencies, nor any Hopes of obtaining it from our Assemblies, if they should advance any Sums for the public Service.

But here it may be justly asked, By what means the *Quakers*, who are so small a Part of the Inhabitants, and whose
Mea-

Measures are so unpopular, get continually chosen into our Assemblies?

Before the late *Spanish* War, a considerable Number of our Assembly were of other Denominations; but at that Time being called upon by Governor *Thomas*, to arm for their own Defence, and the Annoyance of his Majesty's Enemies, they were alarmed with the Prospect of losing their Power, if they should comply, as was shewn above; and therefore they entered into Cabals in their yearly Meeting, which is convened just before the Election, and being composed of Deputies from all the monthly Meetings in the Province, is the finest Scheme that could possibly be projected, for conducting political Intrigues, under the Mask of Religion. They likewise had Recourse to a *German* Printer, who was once one of the *French* Prophets in *Germany*, and is shrewdly suspected to be a *Popish* Emisfary, who now prints a News-Paper entirely in the *German* Language, which is universally read and believed by the *Germans* in this Province. This Man, whose
Name

Name is *Saüer*, they took into their Pay, and by his Means told the *Germans* there was a Design to enslave them; to force their young Men to be Soldiers, make them serve as Pioneers, and go down to work upon our Fortifications; — that a military Law was to be made, insupportable Taxes to be laid upon them, and in a Word, that all the Miseries they suffered in *Germany*, with heavy Aggravations, would be their Lot, unless they joined to keep in the *Quakers*, under whose Administration they had so long enjoyed Ease and Tranquillity; and to force out of the Assembly, all those who were like to join the Governor, in giving Money for annoying the Enemy.

In consequence of this, the *Germans*, who had hitherto continued peaceful, without meddling in Elections, came down in Shoals, and carried all before them. Near 1800 of them voted in the County of *Philadelphia*, which threw the Balance on the Side of the *Quakers*, tho' their Opponents, in that grand Struggle, voted

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near 500 more than ever lost an Election before.

The *Quakers* having found out this Secret, have ever since excluded all other Persuasions from the Assembly, constantly calling in the *Germans* to their Aid, by means of this Printer,

But the keeping the *Quakers* in, is not the worst Consequence of these insidious Practices with the *Germans*. The bad Effects of it will probably be felt thro' many Generations.—The *Germans*, instead of being a peaceable industrious People as before, now finding themselves of such Consequence, are grown insolent, sullen, and turbulent; in some Counties threatening even the Lives of all who oppose their Views. The *Quakers*, in order to keep them from taking up Arms in Defence of the Province, or joining in Elections with their Opponents, have much alienated their Affections from the Government, by telling them there is a Design against their Liberties. They are taught

taught to have but one and the same Idea for Government and Slavery. All who are not of their Party they call *Governors-Men*, in Derision. They give out that they are a Majority, and strong enough to make the Country their own; and indeed, as they are poured in upon us in such Numbers (upwards of 5000 being imported this last Year) I know nothing that will hinder them, either from soon being able to give us Law and Language, or else, by joining with the *French*, to eject all the *English* Inhabitants.

That this may be the Case, is too much to be feared, since, as I remarked already, they refused, almost to a Man, to bear Arms in the Time of the late War. They say it is all one to them which King gets the Country, since, if they remain quiet, they will be permitted to enjoy their Estates, under the Conqueror, whoever he is; and as they have, many of them, lived under *Popish* Rulers before in their own Country, they give out that they know the worst that can happen.

And, indeed, it is clear that the *French* have turned their Hopes upon this great Body of *Germans*. They have now got Possession of the vast and exceeding fruitful Country upon the *Ohio*, just behind our *German* Settlements. They know our *Germans* are extremely ignorant, and think a large Farm the greatest Blessing in Life. Therefore, by sending their *Jesuitical* Emissaries among them, to persuade them over to the *Papish* Religion, they will draw them from the *English*, in Multitudes, or perhaps lead them in a Body against us. This is plainly a Scheme laid by the *French* many Years ago, and uniformly pursued till this Time, with the greatest Address; being the true Cause of their continual Encroachments, and holding their Countries by *Forts*, without settling them. When they come near enough to have Communication with our *Germans*, it will be much more their Interest to plant their Colonies, by offering the said *Germans* easy Settlements, than by bringing new Hands from *Europe*; for by such Means they not only get an

Accession

Accession of People who are accustomed to the Country, but also weaken us, in Proportion as they strengthen themselves.

That now is the Time they propose to put their grand Scheme in Execution is too evident. They are already so near us, that the *French* Camp, and their Forts upon the *Ohio* and the Parts adjacent, are not more than 225 Miles, horizontal Distance, from the City of *Philadelphia*, and only about two Days March from some of our back Settlements. By Accounts received last Week, they have 2000 effective Men in these Parts, together with a great Body of *Indians* at their Beck.

Now there is no Way of preventing these dreadful Misfortunes with which we are threatened, but to open the Eyes of the *Germans* to their true Interests, and soften this stubborn Genius of theirs, by means of *Instruction*. Faithful Protestant Ministers, and School-masters, should be sent and supported among them, to warn them

them against the Horrors of *Popish* Slavery; to teach them sound Principles of Government, and instruct their Children in the *English* Tongue, and the Value of those Privileges to which they are born among us. If this can be done, and the *French* driven from the *Ohio*, so as to have no Communication with our † *Germans* for twenty or thirty Years, till they are taught the Value of the Protestant Religion, understand our Language, and see that they have but one Interest with us; they will for the future bravely fight for their own Property, and prove an impregnable Barrier against the Enemy.

But as if it had been decreed by Fate, or the evil Genius of the *Quakers*, that they should never have the same Interest with their Country in a single Instance, it is a Part of their Policy also to oppose every Scheme for instructing and making
Englishmen

† This supposes also that a Stop be put to the Importation of *Germans* into this Province, and that the Migration be turned from us; for if new Hands are continually brought in, and the old Families go back to other Colonies, as they do at present, whenever they begin to get a little Money, and know something of our Language, we shall never make *Englishmen* of them.

Englishmen of the *Germans*. In order to keep their Seats in the Assembly, they have not only, as I have shewn, suffered the *French* to fix themselves on the *Ohio*; they have not only corrupted the Principles of the *Germans*; but, to be consistent with their Interest, they must strive to keep these poor People in the same dark State, into which they have endeavoured to sink them. For they know, that if the *Germans* were instructed, so as to be capable of using their own Judgment in Matters of Government, they would no more be misled by the Arts of a *Quaker* Preacher, than of a lurking *French* Priest.

Hence it is that, by means of their hireling Printer, they represent all regular Clergymen as Spies and Tools of State, telling the People they must not regard any Thing their Ministers advise concerning Elections, since they have a Scheme to elect Men who will bring in a Bill for giving the Tenths to the Clergy, as in some other Countries. It is needless to observe that no such Law can ever be made

made here, as being repugnant to *Charter*; for our *Quakers*, though they never swear, stick not gravely to affirm and adhere to any Falshood whatever, provided it will support them in their darling Schemes for Power.

There is nothing they more fear than to see the *Germans* pay any Regard to regular Ministers. Whenever they know of any such Minister in good Terms with his People, they immediately attack his Character by means of this Printer, and distress him by dividing his Congregation, and encouraging Vagabonds and pretended Preachers, whom they every now and then raise up. This serves a double End.

First, According to the Maxim, *divide & impera*—it prevents the People from joining in any new Design, and hinders any Minister from ever having Influence enough to set them right at the annual Elections.

Secondly,

Secondly, By discouraging regular Ministers, it gives the *Quakers* an Opportunity of making more Profelytes.

This is the true Reason why the most considerable and wealthy Sect among the *Germans*, is the *Menonists*, whose Principles are much the same with those of the *Quakers*; for they hold it unlawful to take Oaths, or bear Arms. Thus encouraged by our ruling Men, this Sect has a great Influence among the *Germans*, and the *Menonists* are daily increasing by the Converts they make by their great Wealth, which gives them an Opportunity of paying the Passages of their 'poor Countrymen, who indent themselves to serve four Years for the Money thus advanced for them.

Besides these, there are near one Fourth of the *Germans* supposed to be Roman Catholics, who cannot be supposed Friends to any Design for defending the Country against the *French*. Many are also *Moravians*, who, as they conceal their Principles, are

F suspect-

suspected to be a dangerous People, more
 especially as they hold some Tenets and Cus-
 toms, as far as we have any Opportunity of
 judging of them, very much a-kin to those
 of the Roman Catholics. There are also
 many other Sects springing up among the
Germans ; which it would be tedious to
 name, but most of them are principled
 against bearing Arms.

I have said enough to shew that never
 was any Country in a more distressed Condi-
 tion than this ; and tho' it has flourished
 in an extraordinary Degree, as it could
 not fail to do, when it was young, and
 all these several Sects employed only in
 establishing themselves ; yet now, when
 they are grown to Wealth and Maturity,
 and are not so necessarily employed in
 their private Concerns, they will turn
 their Thoughts to the Public, or perhaps
 against one another ; and thence the utmost
 Confusion must ensue, if a timely Remedy
 is not applied, and more Checks con-
 trived to balance their increasing Strength
 than were necessary at first.

I am sorry it has fallen to my Lot to trace all our growing Miseries to the mischievous Policy of my Fellow Subjects, the *Quakers*, who regard no Consequences, but holding their own Ground. Truth and Duty obliged me to take up my Pen. We have been too long silent, and had this Representation been made, as it ought to have been, many Years ago, we had not now been in such calamitous Circumstances.

I must, however, in Justice observe that there have been some honest Spirits always among us, who have left nothing unattempted for the Redemption of their Country. Even as late as last *October*, though they knew it was striving against the Stream, those Persons made a noble Effort to convince the *Germans* of our common Danger, and induce them to join in the Choice of Men who would defend the Province, and pay some Deference to his Majesty's Instructions. They reminded the *Germans*, that at their Naturalization, they had solemnly engaged

to defend his Majesty's Person and Government against all his Enemies; and that, in case of Refusal, they would be guilty of Perjury. But all was in vain. The *Quakers* held them immoveable, by their usual Insinuations; and we might as soon have attempted to preach the stormy Element into a Calm, as, by Reasoning, to rescue these poor deluded *Germans*, out of the Hands into which they are fallen.

Nevertheless these worthy Persons imagined it their Duty to exert themselves, not only to convince the *Quakers* that their Measures were disapproved of by the better Part of their Fellow-Citizens, but also to satisfy the Government of *England* that there are still many in this Place, who have not banished all Impressions of Loyalty and Duty from their Breasts.

I can, however, now see no Remedy left among ourselves. We must look to our Mother-Country for Succour, and if it is not speedily granted, this noble Province seems irrecoverably lost. We shall
be

be driven from these beloved Habitations, or else forced to submit once more, not only to civil Slavery, but to Persecution, and that religious Slavery, from which many of our Ancestors left the Land of their Nativity, and sat down in these distant uncultivated Places, amidst the Horrors of the howling Wilderness!

Yet desperate as our Case is here, a Remedy in *England* is easy. Let the Parliament but make a Law to the following Effect:

1. To oblige all those who sit in Assembly to take the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty, and perhaps a Test or Declaration that they will not refuse to defend their Country against all his Majesty's Enemies.—This seems the smallest Test of Fidelity that can be required from those to whom the Constitution of their Country, and **the** sacred Rights of their Fellow-Subjects, are committed in Trust.

2. To

2. To suspend the Right of Voting for Members of Assembly, from the *Germans*, till they have a sufficient Knowledge of our Language and Constitution. — This Provision is as reasonable as the former. What can be more absurd and impolitic, than to see a Body of ignorant, proud, stubborn Clowns (who are unacquainted with our Language, our Manners, our Laws, and our Interests) indulged with the Privilege of Returning almost every Member of Assembly? Now a Course of about twenty Years would make them acquainted with all these Things, if, according to good Policy, we make it their Interest so to be, and give them the proper Opportunities, as I am going to propose. And unless something is done this Way, we may incline them to some bad Measures, and never procure that *Coalition*, which we desire, and which is so much their Honour and Interest.

3. It will therefore be absolutely necessary to encourage Protestant Ministers and School-masters among them, as I hinted already,

already, in order to reduce them into regular Congregations; to instruct them in the Nature of *free* Government, the Purity and Value of the Protestant Faith; and to bind them to us by a common Language, and the Consciousness of a common Interest*.

4. But after such a Provision is made, it will also be necessary, in order the more effectually to induce the *Germans* to learn *English*, not only to suspend for a Time their Right of Voting for Assembly-men, as by the *second* Article, but also to make all Bonds, Contracts, Wills, and other legal Writings void, unless in the *English* Tongue.

* *N. B.* As a considerable Progress is made in a Design of this Nature, and a considerable Sum collected for it, by a generous and public-spirited Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in *London*, who are all Persons of high Rank and Worth, the Parliament could not do a more effectual Service to the *British* Interest in *America*, than to assist the said Society, by making an annual Provision for instructing poor *Germans* in these Parts, for the Space of twenty or thirty Years, till they are brought into a regular State. Some *English* Schools are already begun, and an excellent Scheme laid for their Government; but without public Aid, it is feared the charitable Contributions of private Persons, will prove utterly inadequate to support a Design of so great national Importance.

Tongue. For want of some Regulation of this Nature, the greatest Confusion is like to be introduced into our Laws, and Courts of Justice.

5. That no News-Papers, Almanacks, or any other periodical Paper, by whatever Name it may be called, be printed or circulated in a foreign Language. Or, should this be deemed too severe (which I think it cannot reasonably be) then it may be provided, that no such Publication or Circulation be made, unless there be a just and fair *English* Version of such a foreign Language, printed in one Column of the same Page or Pages, along with the said foreign Language.

For want of some such Regulation as this, continual Prejudices are propagated among the *Germans*, without our knowing it, or being able to remove them when they come to our Knowledge.

Now a Law consisting of the five fore-said Provisions, or something equivalent, would

would effectually rescue us from all the sad Train of Calamities I have pointed out; and without such Means, I see nothing to prevent this Province from falling into the Hands of the *French*.

It cannot be expected that private Persons, without the Aid of the Legislature, can long defend the Country, or support the Expence of military Preparations. A few Men, among us, have already expended large Sums this Way, and can see no End of it.

During the late War, they petitioned his Majesty, setting forth their Difficulties in this Respect, and the defenceless State of the Province; in which they were countenanced by the Proprietors, who with great Earnestness solicited the Matter, and have on every Occasion been zealous and active for the Defence of the Colony.—The Petition was referred to a Committee of the Privy-Council and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who reported in favour of it. But the Petitioners, at that Time, received no Relief, owing,

as they presume, to the other weighty Affairs of Government, which then necessarily engrossed the Attention of his Majesty's Ministers. Peace being soon after concluded, the Petitioners remained silent, till we are now again alarmed with greater and more threatening Dangers than ever. Longer Silence would be unpardonable, and the sooner the *British* Nation is acquainted with our State, the more possibility of Redress will remain.

It may be said, with the greatest Justice, that our Proprietors and our late Governors, have done every thing in their Power to assist us, and keep up to an *English* Constitution ; for which they have been reviled, abused, and all imaginable Steps taken to hurt them in their Interest, by this perverse and proudest of People, who, under the Mask of extraordinary Sanctity and Conscience, lord it over their Fellow-Subjects.

Whatever be the Consequence, all our Misfortunes can be charged no where but upon our People themselves, and I have
 I shewn

shewn that it would be plainly repugnant to their Interest to remedy Grievances. All Redress therefore, must, if it comes, come from his Majesty, and the *British* Parliament, to whom our distressed and melancholy Condition must be humbly submitted. If our Case is longer overlooked, I shall soon begin to think of returning, to spend the small Remainder of my Days in *quiet* with you, and to leave my Bones in the Land where I drew my first Breath. Mean while, permit me to assure you, that,

I am, &c.

F I N I S.

A

B R I E F V I E W

Of the CONDUCT of

P E N N S Y L V A N I A,

For the YEAR 1755;

So far as it affected the General Service of the
BRITISH COLONIES, particularly the Expedition
under the late General BRADDOCK.

With an ACCOUNT of the shocking Inhumanities,
committed by Incursions of the *Indians* upon the
Province in *October* and *November*; which occasioned
a Body of the Inhabitants to come down, while the
Assembly were sitting, and to insist upon an imme-
diate Suspension of all Disputes, and the Passing of
a Law for the Defence of the Country.

Interspers'd with several interesting Anecdotes and original
Papers, relating to the POLITICS and PRINCIPLES of
the People called *QUAKERS*: Being a Sequel to
a late well-known Pamphlet,

I N T I T L E D,

A B R I E F S T A T E of *Pennsylvania*.

In a SECOND LETTER to a Friend in *London*.

*To see the Sufferings of my Fellow-Creatures,
And own myself a Man;—to see our SENATORS
Cheat the deluded People with a Shew
Of LIBERTY, which yet they never taste of—
All that bear this are Villains, and I one
Not to rouse up at the great Call of Nature,
To check the Growth of these domestic Spoilers
Who make us SLAVES, and tell us, —'tis our
CHARTER! Shakefpear.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS in *Pater-noster Row*; and Sold
by Mr. BRADFORD in *Philadelphia*. 1756.

[Price One-shilling and Six-pence.]

WILLIAM

NOTES

1840-1841

The first part of the year was spent in the study of the history of the country, and the second part in the study of the history of the world.

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A
B R I E F V I E W
Of the C O N D U C T of
P E N N S Y L V A N I A,
For the Year 1755.

Dear S I R,

YOU did me great Honour in judging my last Letter * worthy of the public View ; and I am glad to find your Judgment so well confirmed, by the universal Notice that is taken of it. This was, no doubt, chiefly owing to the Nature of the Subject, which, becoming every Day more interesting, is a Reason why I should continue my Remarks, in Compliance with your *continued* Request. You may, therefore, expect an impartial Account of such of our public Transactions as have affected his Majesty's Service in these Parts, since the Time of writing my last to you ; and as I know that you are determined wholly by a View to the public Good, I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever Use you may make of the Informations I give you.

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To

* It was published by *R. Griffiths*, intituled, *A Brief State of Pennsylvania.*

To us who inhabit these Colonies it must give a very sensible Satisfaction, to see the Attention of every *honest Englishman* so closely turned towards our Protection and Safety. Undutiful, therefore, and basely ungrateful might we be deemed, if we should attempt to impose upon our distant Countrymen and Benefactors, by lame or partial Accounts of things which are of the last Importance towards our common Happiness!

For my part, I shall confine myself entirely to a Detail of undeniable and notorious Facts, which I have been an Eye-witness of; and I have not a single Inducement to give a partial Relation of them. By my Station, as well as Principles, you know that I disclaim all Party-connections, and have nothing to hope or to fear from any of those called Parties among us. My only View is to remove gross Misrepresentations, and to display the miserable and defenceless State of this Province to those who only can relieve and save it. My Motive to this is a most affecting one.—My Life is at Stake, and the Cry of Blood, Death and Desolation hourly pierces my very Heart from the Country round about.

When I last wrote to you, I told you that I could no longer be silent, and behold the Distress of the Province in which I lived.—“ A
 “ *French* Enemy and their Savage-allies being
 “ advanced into our Country, and fortified,
 “ within a few Days March of our Metropolis.
 “ The People on our Frontiers liable to be murdered and driven from their Habitations! Our
 “ Lives and sacred Rights exposed an easy Prey,
 “ by the Infatuation of a Sett of Men amongst
 “ ourselves, who are principled against Defence,
 “ and regard no Consequences provided they can
 “ secure their darling Power, and keep their Seats
 “ in

“ in Assembly.” I told you also that it was to be feared that the Enemy, expecting to find no Resistance from this Province, on account of the religious Principles of our *Rulers*, had turned their Aims upon the Conquest of our Country, and the Alienation of the Foreigners amongst us. I observed further, that there was no Possibility of getting these Men out of our Assembly, since they had, by a great many wicked Practices (which I then recounted to you) got these Foreigners entirely in their Interest, who are about one half of the People in the Province.

Since the writing of the aforesaid Letter, every thing which I then feared is come to pass. After the Defeat of General *Braddock*, and the Departure of the Remainder of the Army to the Northward, the Enemy, expecting no Resistance from us, have made a Descent upon the Province, and are almost Masters of the whole Country between the *Ohio* and *Sasquehannab*. Instead of 220 Miles Distance, as I said they were before, their Scalping-parties have been within 65 Miles of this City; and it is feared they intend to fortify themselves as near us as possible (some think about *Shamokin*) in order to supply themselves with Provisions, and harraß our Inhabitants thro’ the Winter. A great Number of Families have been *scalped* by them, and some thousands have fled from their Habitations farther down into the Province. A general Pannic reigns among the People; and when a few resolve to make Head against the Enemy, it is impossible to keep up Order amongst them for want of a *proper* MILITIA LAW, which our Assembly have still refused to pass; nor is there any Probability of obtaining it, as I shall afterwards shew.

The

The Consequence of all is; that inevitable Ruin seems to hang over this rich and useful Province, unless the *King and Parliament* shall interfere, upon some such Plan as I pointed out in my last. For we now find by Experience, what I then hinted, that in time of Danger, it cannot be expected that Individuals should undertake the Burden of Defence without a proper Law to make it fall general and equal.

I have, therefore, still greater Reason than before, to continue remonstrating, and I shall never cease to remonstrate, against the public Measures of this Province, as long as I see my poor Fellow-subjects *bleeding* and *suffering* thereby; and our capital City scarce safe from the insidious Incursions of an Enemy, almost within a Day's March of us.

I well know that the Task in which I am engaged must be an invidious one to some; but it is an honest and necessary one. Those who are affected by the Censures which I shall be obliged to pass, will, no doubt, *roar* out as usual. It would be hard to deny them this Privilege, when the Scourge of their Iniquity is keenly applied to them. But unless they shall bring Arguments as conclusive as mine, I hope they will receive only a proportionable Degree of Credit; and with regard to the hard Names they may bestow, let them be passed over as things of nought.

There is not a more unpromising Subject, on which to write, than the Times we live in. If we are obliged to blame the Administration, and *probe* into the Bosom of prosperous Villainy, it is like waking a Nest of Hornets, who will be sure to sting and to pursue, if they can, to Destruction. 'Tis the same, if Truth requires us to pay a candid Applause to Virtue in Power: It equally

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rouses the Resentment of every little *PRETENDER* who is out of *Power* : In either Case, to touch upon living Characters, is to embark on a Sea of Troubles.

But, on the other Hand, he who writes of the Times that are elapsed, launches forth on a gentle Surface, neither tossed into Tumult by the rude Breath of Calumny, nor the swelling Tides of Party. Yet still it is from the former that the latter must borrow his Materials ; and if no Person had Boldness and Honesty enough to write concerning his own Times, the World would be destitute of the History of all Times.

I please myself, therefore, with the Thoughts that these Remarks and Anecdotes will live when Calumny itself is dead, and help to throw Light upon the important History of this Province, when the present Sett of Actors shall be silent as the Grave. Nay, I have already had the Satisfaction to find that my last has not only been a powerful Means of laying open the internal State of this distressed Colony, to the Eye of the *British* Nation, but also of dispelling Prejudices among the People here ; many of whom begin to see how grossly they have been misled, even by their own Representatives.

As soon as my brief State made its Appearance here, in the Form of a Pamphlet, it was as a Clap of Thunder to our Rulers, who had not been accustomed to such plain Dealing. But Facts are of a stubborn Nature. They found it in vain to combat the clearest Evidence, and therefore wisely resolved to pass over the whole.

It would have been well for them, could they have adhered to this Resolve ; in which Case they would have escaped the keener Censure they have

have since met with from another Quarter *. But their Uneasiness could not conceal itself amidst their affected Silence; and though they had neither the Courage nor Candor to attempt an open and fair Refutation, they kept throwing out dark and insidious Hints against it. At length, in the Months of *August* and *September*, out came the whole collected Indignation of the Party, from no less a Body than our Assembly itself. In two remarkable Messages, filled with the grossest Abuses of their Governor, my *Brief State* is *fathered* upon him, and honoured with the Appellation of. "*famous Libel.*" The only Reason assigned for this is that — "It teaches the Doctrine of a Necessity for a Change in our civil Constitution." — And for this I beg Pardon, for I meant only to teach the Doctrine of a Necessity for a Change of our *Quaker-Rulers*, whose Principles have almost undone their Country, and its Constitution too.

Soon after this, a Writer, in one of our Newspapers, taking the Hint from his Masters, ventured to give the same Name of Libel to my *Brief State*. For this he also gave only one Reason, which was a very remarkable one, — namely, that the *Brief State* was "filled with personal Scurrilities against whole Bodies of People." — This seems strange at first Sight; but it is easily reconciled. For the Writer was conscious, that all the Reflections in the Pamphlet, directed against whole Sects and Bodies, were due only to himself and to one or two more, who have long misled the rest. He therefore spoke very consistently with himself, though not with common Language, when he said *personal Reflections*
against

* In the *New-York Mercury*, quoted below, N^o 168.

against whole Bodies. — These are all the Objections that have ever appeared here, where the Facts, if false, might easily have been refuted.

Before I conclude, I shall fully prove against the Assembly, that it is not *Libelling* of them, to say that they are a factious Cabal, effectually promoting the *French* Interest, and a dead Weight upon his Majesty's Service. This, and every other Charge which is brought against them in the *Brief State*, I shall support with fresh and undeniable Evidence.

As to the other Writer, I find him so well handled for me in the *New-York Mercury*, that I need only to transcribe the Substance of it.—

My Vindicator, in that Paper, begins with a heavy Complaint that in *Philadelphia*, by the scandalous Practices of the Assembly's Party, he was refused the Privilege of the Press, which had been granted to them; and that he was obliged to seek for that Justice in another Province, which he could not obtain in his own.

He then observes, that the Reason of his Writing was to make proper Remarks on an Essay which had just been published in a *Philadelphia* News-paper, containing several Extracts of Letters from *London*, either fictitious, or written to our Assembly by their ever-faithful Agents; setting forth, that the Clamors raised against them, by my *Brief State*, were just beginning to wear off; — that there were many, both *Peers* and *Commoners* in *England*, who now acknowledged that they had been imposed upon by the *Brief State*, and that they began to consider our Assembly's Conduct, as one of the most glorious Struggles for Liberty which History can shew; — that the Governor's Conduct was of course condemned, and that the Author of the

Gentleman's Magazine (for June 1755) in his State of the Dispute, had published a Falshood, when he says—" Thus ended the long protracted Dispute between the Governor and Assembly of *Pennsylvania*, which was finally referred to the highest Determination, by which the Governor's Conduct was approved, and his Resolutions confirmed."—

In Reply to this, the Vindicator of my Brief State observes, that he could see no other Reason for charging the Author of the Magazine with Falshood and Partiality, in a Dispute that so little interests him; unless it be, that he has not taken the Part of the Assembly, in Violation of his Veracity, his Judgment, and of that Candor wherewith he has so long entertained the World.

With regard to the Extracts of Letters in favour of the Assembly, my Vindicator says he can balance them with Extracts on the other Side, written also from *London*, by Persons of equal Importance, and probably more Impartiality than the Assembly's Letter-writers; which Extracts he gives in Substance as follows.—

One says — " The Affairs of your Province are much talked of. Every Body blames your Assembly, and seems convinced of the Absurdity of suffering a Sett of Men to have any Share in Government, whose *religious Principles* disqualify them for that which is the chief End of all Government, namely, to defend the Lives and Properties of the People, from external Violence. We now perceive clearly, that all their past Disputes about Instructions, were only introduced in order to save Appearances, and avoid doing any thing contrary to what they call their *Principles*, or
" that

“ that Scheme of Policy which holds them to-
 “ gether. In the Name of all that’s good, if
 “ they have any real Scruples of Conscience
 “ against *Defence*, and no *political Ends* to serve
 “ by keeping their Power, why do they not at
 “ once *honestly* resign the Government into the
 “ Hands of those, who, in your present dange-
 “ rous Situation, would do honour to it, and
 “ enable you to make as good a Figure as your
 “ brave Neighbours to the Northward, who
 “ have done so much for the common Defence
 “ of *America* ? ”—

Another says—“ There is something very ho-
 “ nonourable in the Conduct of his Majesty’s
 “ Colony of *New-York*, which meets with great
 “ Applause here. You know, the Inhabitants
 “ of that Colony were always reckoned a warm
 “ *Party-people* ; but now, in the present Exi-
 “ gency, they have wisely suspended every Dis-
 “ pute that could retard his Majesty’s Ser-
 “ vice ; and we find them among the most zea-
 “ lous in the common Cause. As for your
 “ *Pennsylvania* Assembly, I cannot conceive
 “ what Sort of Creatures it is made up of. We
 “ hear of nothing from them but eternal Dis-
 “ putes and Quarrels. Why cannot they give
 “ Money on the same Terms with the neighbour-
 “ ing Colonies, and agreeable to that Mode
 “ fixed upon by *the Wisdom of the Crown*, upon
 “ an Address from both Houses of Parliament ?
 “ Most certainly they have no Intention to give
 “ any Thing at all. People here wonder to find
 “ them hinting Designs of *Oppression* and *Slavery*.
 “ Their Language and Conduct, in all their
 “ Debates, plainly shew that they are Strangers
 “ to every Thing of *Oppression* but the Name,
 “ which on every Occasion they wantonly make

“ use of, as a Cloak for their own Insolence of
 “ Power. Indeed it seems to me the next Step
 “ to *Treason* itself, to be insinuating such Things
 “ in any Part of a *free Monarchy*. There can
 “ be no such Thing as *partial Slavery and Op-*
 “ *pression* under an *English* Constitution.”

Another says—“ The constant Endeavours of
 “ your Assembly to persuade their Governor that
 “ he may *legally* break through all his *Instruc-*
 “ *tions*, and their keeping back his Salary when
 “ he refuses to comply, appear here in a very bad
 “ Light, If your Governor is a Branch of the
 “ Legislature, it is the Height of Impudence,
 “ and a Violation of the Constitution, not to
 “ leave him to exercise his own Judgment with
 “ *Freedom* and *Independency*. They must indeed
 “ be a very corrupt People ; for, if the Go-
 “ vernor could come into their Measures, with-
 “ out falling under the Lash of the Law, is he
 “ therefore to be unfaithful to his *Trust* ? We
 “ know that the very Nature of a *Trust* implies
 “ a Capacity of breaking it ; and if this could
 “ be done without the Lash of the *Law*, is
 “ there no *Law* of CONSCIENCE and EQUITY ?
 “ And may a Man always be a Villain when
 “ he is without the Reach of civil Justice ? It
 “ is no wonder that such Men should strive to
 “ alienate the Affections of the *Germans* settled
 “ among you, in order to serve their Party-
 “ purposes, when we see they have even the
 “ Assurance to attempt the corrupting their Go-
 “ vernors themselves, who are the immediate
 “ Servants of the Crown.

“ This Charge of alienating the *Germans* is
 “ brought against your Assembly, among other
 “ Charges, in a Pamphlet late published here,
 “ entitled *A Brief State of the Province of Penn-*
 “ *sylvania*.

“ *sylvania*. It is very eagerly read, as indeed
 “ almost every thing relating to the Colonies is,
 “ at this time. It contains a Number of Charges,
 “ chiefly Facts, laid together, in a Manner so
 “ clear, so spirited and consistent, that it will
 “ be hard to refute them. There has, it is true,
 “ been an Attempt to answer it: But it is a poor
 “ abusive Affair, written in a confused Manner.
 “ The Author * does not enter upon the Refu-
 “ tation.

* This Answer is said to be the Production of one formerly an Attorney's Clerk. He was convicted of Forgery, sentenced to be hanged, but after some time obtained the Favour of Transportation; and did us the Honour to take up his Residence in this Province. But, being discovered, and silenced from Pleading as any Attorney here, he returned home at the Expiration of the Term of his Banishment. Thinking himself a fit Tool for the Party he defends, and hoping to pave the Way for his future Preferment amongst them, he undertook to answer my *Brief State*, without any Acquaintance with the Facts he wrote about. The Amount of what he says, is—

1st, That the Title-page of the *Brief State* is a Puff, seeing the Causes of the *French* Encroachments are in no part of the Performance accounted for.

2^{dly}, That the Men in Opposition to the *Quakers* are all a Pack of Rascals.

In answer to the *first*, I shall quote the *Brief State* itself. Page 13, it is said,—“ The *French* have invaded and built
 “ three Forts in the Province, being well apprised of its
 “ DEFENCELESS and disunited State, and presuming on the
 “ RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES of our ruling People.”—This *Presumption* then, on the *Quakers* Principles, and our defenceless State, are given as Causes of the *French* Encroachments.

Again, page 30, it is said,—“ The *French* having turned
 “ their Hopes upon the great Body of *Germans* in *Pennsyl-*
 “ *wania*, have got just behind them, and strengthened them-
 “ selves upon our exceeding fruitful Lands on the *OHIO*.
 “ They know these *Germans* are extremely ignorant, and as
 “ yet little acquainted with the Blessings of an *English* Con-
 “ stitution; thinking a large Farm the greatest Blessing in
 “ Life. Therefore, by sending their *jesuitical* Missionaries
 “ among them, to persuade them over to the *Popish* Reli-
 “ gion, and by offering them easy Settlements upon the said
 “ Lands, the *French* will draw these *Germans*, as they have
 “ done

“ tation of any of the Facts charged upon the
 “ Assembly, but takes Occasion to vent his
 “ Choler against some particular Men amongst
 “ you, who, one would think, had greatly of-
 “ fended him †.

“ Thus the Account of Extracts is balanced ;
 “ and whenever the Assembly shall favour us
 “ with more on their Side, we can also furnish
 “ more on the other. As for the Testimony of
 “ the Author of the *Present State of North Ame-*
 “ *rica,*

“ done the *Indians*, over from the *English*, or perhaps lead
 “ them in a Body against us. This Scheme has been long
 “ laid, and uniformly pursued by the *French*.”—Here are
 more Causes of the *French* Encroachments.

Now, tho’ I disclaim the Art of multiplying Words need-
 lessly, which my Antagonist is so much a Master of, I think
 the above Paragraphs clearly display the End, Causes and
 Designs, of the late *French* Encroachments. Nor does it re-
 quire many Words to tell that these are their Views, since
 they are so well known here, that a Man would be laughed
 at who should affect to disbelieve them.

As to the *second*, I do not wonder that a Writer, who is
 conscious of being a Villain himself, should endeavour to
 blacken the Characters of others. The Truth is, that the
 Men in Opposition to the *Quakers*, are of the first Character
 and Fortune in this Province: They oppose the *Quakers* from
 no Party-view, and desire no Share in the Government, but
 only to see it in the Hands of Men who are not, by their
 Principles, unfit for it. Provided they can see their Country
defended, and their Estates secure, the Gentlemen in the Op-
 position do not care by what Instruments it is done. For,
 in *October* 1754, they procured a Meeting with the leading
Quakers, who sway the Mob at Elections, and entreated them
 to name Men of any Persuasion, provided they were for *De-*
fence, and they would not only drop their Opposition, but
 most cordially join the *Quakers*, in the Choice of such
 Men.—

The other Part of this abusive Answer is so full of Mis-
 representations and Blunders, owing to the Author’s want of
 common Honesty, and the Distance at which he writes, that
 the *Quakers* here disown the Piece. And this will be the
 Case with every other Answer, written where the Facts are
 not known.

† They silenced him from Pleading here.

“ *rica* †, who is *dubbed* with the Title of *ingenious*, for having found out that the *Quakers*
 “ *are a very respectable Body of People*; they are
 “ welcome to it. This Discovery may be an
 “ Instance of his *Invention* and *Ingenuity*; but in
 “ the rest of his Performance there is nothing
 “ *new* or *ingenious*, it being a meer catch-penny
 “ Affair, making a splendid Appearance, but
 “ containing only what had long before been
 “ hackney’d over and over in the public News-
 “ papers, as is observed by the Authors of the
 “ *Monthly Review*, whose Judgment of Books
 “ is allowed to be decisive.

“ But Thousands of Testimonies signify just
 “ nothing against Matters of Fact. While other
 “ Provinces, neither half so rich nor populous
 “ as we, have furnished out their Thousands of
 “ brave Men in the general Cause, we have not,
 “ as a Province, *armed* a single Man, nor is there
 “ any Probability that we shall. And yet had
 “ the Consciences of our Assembly suffered them
 “ to support General *Braddock* with two or three
 “ Regiments of *Pennsylvanians*, as we had Men
 “ enough willing to go, and well accustomed to
 “ the Woods, his Army had, no doubt, been
 “ safe, and all our Expeditions successful.

“ These are the Things that expose our As-
 “ sembly to censure, and not any Party-resent-
 “ sent. All our Neighbours complain of us,
 “ and look upon us as a dead Weight to the
 “ *general Cause*; nay, as effectually serving the
 “ Cause of the Enemy. How often, and how
 “ justly has this Province been censured in the
 “ *Boston* and *New-York* News-papers; and cer-
 “ tainly the public Condemnation of our Neigh-
 “ bours will weigh a thousand Times more a-
 “ gainst

“ gainst our Assembly, than any obscure Testi-
 “ monies for them, said to be sent from *England*.
 “ As an Instance of the Opinion entertained of
 “ this Province, by our Neighbours, as well as
 “ the Encouragement which our Conduct gives
 “ to the Enemy, I will add what a Gentleman
 “ of *Rhode-Island* writes on the Subject.

“ I have, says he, just got into my Hands a
 “ Copy of a Letter, written in *June* last, from a
 “ Gentleman in *Montreal*, to his Friend at *Paris*.
 “ After a great many Schemes for extending the
 “ Power of his *Grand Monarque*, he has the fol-
 “ lowing remarkable Passage, which I could not
 “ forbear sending for the Perusal of your pacific
 “ *Pennsylvanians*.

‘ About a Century ago, says the *Frenchman*,
 ‘ our Court, finding it impossible to subject the
 ‘ *English* Nation to their Dominion, while they
 ‘ preserved their fierce and martial Spirit, pro-
 ‘ jected the following Scheme to break and sub-
 ‘ due that Spirit. A certain faithful JESUIT
 ‘ was sent to *England*, who gave out that he
 ‘ went for Conscience-sake. He pretended to a
 ‘ certain *Light within*, soon grew popular, and
 ‘ was the Means of founding a Sect of QUIET-
 ‘ ISTS or NON-RESISTANTS, who held it un-
 ‘ lawful to spill Christian Blood, and, *if you*
 ‘ *smote them on one Cheek, would turn the other*
 ‘ *also*.

‘ For some time there was a Prospect that
 ‘ this Sect would multiply exceedingly, and then
 ‘ our *Monarque* would have made an easy Con-
 ‘ quest of the whole Island of *Britain*. But in
 ‘ this we were disappointed, for there were a
 ‘ great many *stubborn Britons*, who not only
 ‘ refused to embrace these *Quietist* Principles,
 ‘ but also found Means to exclude all those from

‘ any

‘ any Places of Trust, who were known to hold
 ‘ such Principles.

‘ Yet, my Friend, the good Scheme seems
 ‘ still in a fair Way to take Effect at last. The
 ‘ rich and extensive Province of *Pennsylvania* is
 ‘ chiefly settled with the same sort of People
 ‘ (commonly called *Quakers*) and the Govern-
 ‘ ment is entirely in their Hands; so that we
 ‘ have erected several *Fortifications* far within the
 ‘ Limits of their Province, without any Hin-
 ‘ drance or Molestation. We hear from our
 ‘ faithful Missionaries among them, that this
 ‘ meek and peaceable People are serving us
 ‘ most effectually, refusing to grant any Money
 ‘ to *dispossess* us, and finding means to intro-
 ‘ duce Quarrels, and spin out the Time. They
 ‘ have a great Party of their own *quietest* and
 ‘ *non-resisting* Principles, among the GERMANS
 ‘ in that Province, which is likewise much to
 ‘ our Advantage. For my Correspondents
 ‘ write me from thence, that an *English Gene-
 ‘ ral*, being about to march against our *Forts*,
 ‘ had sent to *Pennsylvania* to hire Waggon with
 ‘ his Master’s Money, and that the foresaid
 ‘ *German Quietest*s, and our other *English* Friends
 ‘ of the same Principles, had refused to carry
 ‘ any *Powder or Instruments* of Death against
 ‘ us; but that they would meet us, like Lambs,
 ‘ bringing us *Bread* and all sorts of *Provisions*.

‘ O, my Friend I were the rude *Oliverians* in
 ‘ the Colonies to the Northward, as mild and
 ‘ harmless *, what a fine thing it would be to
 ‘ meet their THOUSANDS, armed only with
 ‘ *Mutton*, and *Beef*, and *Baskets of Sweetmeats*.—

‘ Never-

* There being two Translations of this Letter, there is a
 Difference between them in some Words.

‘ Nevertheless, we doubt not, when we have
 ‘ once opened a Passage through the rich Pro-
 ‘ vince of *Pennsylvania* to the Sea (in which, as
 ‘ I told you, we expect no Opposition *) — I
 ‘ say when once this is accomplished, we doubt
 ‘ not but we shall in a short Time, not only re-
 ‘ duce all the other *English* Colonies, but the
 ‘ Mother-country also, her chief Strength and
 ‘ Support being once cut off. Thus you see
 ‘ that the long-laid Plan may at last be suc-
 ‘ cessful, to the Glory of our grand Monarque,
 ‘ and the spreading abroad the Influence of our
 ‘ holy Catholic Church.’—

“ The same *Rhode-Island* Gentleman (conti-
 “ nues my Vindicator) adds further, that he has
 “ in his Hands a whole Bundle of the said
 “ *Frenchman’s* Letters, which he intends to pub-
 “ lish occasionally ; and he has accordingly given
 “ us one of them in the *New-York Gazette*,
 “ *September 22d*, in which is a Paragraph to the
 “ following Effect : ”

‘ The *Quakers* and our good Friends the *Mo-*
 ‘ *ravians*, says the vaunting *Frenchman*, refuse
 ‘ to take up Arms against us ; and we are in-
 ‘ formed that they are almost half the Number
 ‘ of the Inhabitants in *Pennsylvania*. The other
 ‘ half, we are told, consists of a Variety of mon-
 ‘ grel Protestants of different Nations, *Dutch*,
 ‘ *Germans*, *Palatines*, intermixed with Shoals of
 ‘ our good *Catholics*, who have from time to
 ‘ time fled into these Parts, or been transported
 ‘ from

* The Baron *Dießkau*, Commander of all the *French* Forces in *North America*, and now a Prisoner at *New-York*, has frequently in Conversation declared to the *English* Physicians, &c. attending him, that he never expected to meet with any Resistance from the Government of *Pennsylvania*, as he knew it to be in the Hands of People who are against bearing Arms.

“ from *Scotland and Ireland*, especially into the
 “ Country of *BALTIMORE (Maryland.)*’

“ Thus we see that the Author of the *Brief*
 “ *State* had Reason to be jealous of these Fo-
 “ reigners among us at this Time. Neverthe-
 “ less, it is false to say he reflects upon the whole
 “ Body of them. They certainly do not all de-
 “ serve it; and those who do, he pities rather
 “ than blames, by shewing that they have been
 “ made Tools of, and kept in the greatest Ig-
 “ norance, to serve the Purposes of Elections.
 “ He also proposes a Scheme to instruct them,
 “ and render them good *English* Subjects, capa-
 “ ble of using their own Judgment, indepen-
 “ dent of all Parties; for which they are cer-
 “ tainly obliged to him. But the Design of this
 “ Exclamation on the Part of the Assembly is
 “ obvious. It serves to keep up a Party among
 “ these *Germans* for the ensuing Election, and is
 “ much easier than a fair Refutation of Facts,
 “ to which the Writers on the other Side are
 “ here challenged, before they throw out any
 “ more general Invectives, either against the
 “ *Brief State*, or its supposed Authors. And
 “ that they may know what they are challenged
 “ to undertake, the Facts charged against the
 “ Assembly, and now almost universally credit-
 “ ed, are as follows :

“ 1st, That Schemes of Politics are carried
 “ on, at a certain *annual Cabal*, commonly cal-
 “ led an *yearly Meeting of Friends, for religious*
 “ *Purposes*.

“ 2d, That a great Majority of one particu-
 “ lar Persuasion, who are scarce a Fifth of the
 “ People of this Province, and by their religi-
 “ ous Principles unqualified for Government,
 “ are kept in the Assembly, by the Influence of

“ the aforesaid *Cabal*, to the Exclusion of Men
 “ of superior Property and Qualifications.

“ 3d, That many notorious Falshoods and
 “ corrupt Notions have been impudently spread
 “ among the People, and especially the *Ger-*
 “ *mans*, in order to secure them in the Interest
 “ of the said Party at Elections.

“ 4th, That our Assembly, composed of the
 “ said Party, have, in all their Debates, plainly
 “ shewn that they had no Intention to act like
 “ the neighbouring Colonies, and grant Money
 “ for the King's Use.

“ 5th, That if the said Party continue to keep
 “ their Seats in Assembly, the Province must
 “ either be thrown into the Enemy's Hands, or
 “ the King and Parliament must interfere, and
 “ make Laws to put us into a Posture of De-
 “ fence, as well as to exclude the said Party from
 “ any future Share of that Government, which
 “ they have so grossly abused.

“ These are the Charges against our Assembly
 “ in the *Brief State*, and very heavy ones too,
 “ but they are supported with sufficient Reasons.
 “ And whenever any thing shall be said to inva-
 “ lidate these Reasons, I who now write this,
 “ am ready to defend them against any Man, or
 “ Sett of Men, who may think fit to enter into
 “ the Controversy.

“ Who I am that speaks so boldly will be the
 “ Subject of much Enquiry, But that Trouble
 “ may be spared ; for I am never to be known
 “ *positively*, and *negatively* I am not the Author
 “ of the *Brief State* ; nor do I fetch and carry
 “ for any great Man ; nor do I want his Din-
 “ ner, or his gracious Nod ; nor is it in the
 “ Power of any *Party* to prefer or disgrace me.
 “ I am for myself ; embarked in the glorious
 “ Cause

“ Cause of TRUTH and LIBERTY. And, in
 “ such a Cause, I would speak, if I could, in
 “ Thunder, till the *Heart of Guilt* trembles to
 “ pieces. I desire I may be called no Names ;
 “ for I shall not give Names to any Body. I
 “ shall listen to Reason, and always retract when
 “ convinced of an Error. But my Judgment
 “ I will not give up to either Side ; nor is it for
 “ the Interest of the Public that I should give
 “ it up. Great is the Power of Truth, and it
 “ will prevail at last, on which Side soever it
 “ lies.”—

Thus far my Vindicator ; whose fair Challenge has never been accepted, nor has a single Word appeared in Answer to his Five Charges. Indeed, they are so intimately known in this Province, that it would be Madness to deny them. But lest that should be attempted on your Side of the *Atlantic*, which they think it adviseable not to attempt here, I shall subjoin a Series of Facts and Anecdotes in support of each of the aforesaid Charges, which I hope will display *Quaker* Politics in their true Colours.

The *first* and *second*, viz. That the yearly and monthly Meetings of leading *Quakers* in this Province are not entirely for *spiritual* Purposes ; but that they are degenerated into political Cabals, held the Week before our annual Election, to fix the Choice of Assembly-men, and issue out their *Edicts* to the several Meetings in the Province.—These Charges, I say, want no Confirmation ; but if they do, I shall say something more on that Head before I conclude.

The *third* and heaviest Charge is, that the *Quakers* have corrupted the *Germans*, and filled them with Apprehensions of Vassalage and Slavery, in case they shall ever agree to return any
 other

other Men besides *Quakers* to sit in Assembly. In my former Letter I was very full upon this important Article. I mentioned many of the Falshoods and wicked Insinuations continually propagated among these *Foreigners* for the Purposes of Elections, by means of a certain *German* Printer, in *Quaker*-pay. I told you also of the great Increase of *German* Sectaries of various Denominations, all *principled against Defence*, and encouraged by the *Quakers*; and I might have added, that for this Purpose they have, from time to time, distributed Books and Pamphlets among the said *Germans*, and particularly *Barclay's Apology*;—all calculated to propagate those *non-resisting* Principles, which are plainly subversive of Society.

But of all others, the *German* News-paper is a never-failing Channel of Corruption. Very lately, at a time when we were alarmed from every Quarter, the People were told in that Paper, that they had nothing to fear from the Enemy; and that when the *French* and their *Indians* should come down against us, “that Man was blest who could open his Door to them, or run out to meet them with Bread and Milk;” but to *resist*, or have recourse to the weak Arm of Flesh, would of course be downright Presumption.

Nor are these the Doctrines of the Press alone. The same are also inculcated by every *Quaker*-preacher throughout the Province. On the first News of the Defeat of the late General *Braddock*, when Terror and Consternation sat in every Face; when our Women and Children were in Tears, and every honest Heart was bleeding for the Country's Distress, and deeply sorrowful with the Thoughts that many brave Men, allied to some of the best Families

Families in *England*, had spilt their generous Blood in fighting our Battles for us;—at that very time, I say, the most noted *Quaker*-preacher in this City, exhorted his numerous Audience to adhere firmly to their Principles, and neither to act in Defence, nor in any Shape to contribute “ thereto.—“ For, says he, if the Potsherds of “ the Earth clash together, what is that to *us*?” —Infatuated Enthusiasts! Who made them more righteous or more holy than others? Who separated them from the *Men of the Earth*, or set them apart as the CHOSEN OF GOD, to be defended by Miracles, without the ordinary Means? *My Soul rises at such horrid Doctrine! I cannot swallow it!* Shall they reap the Benefit of Society, not only without contributing to its Defence, but even insulting the Memory of those brave Men who fought, and who fell to maintain them in Ease, nay in Insolence? A very Brute would shew some Token of Gratitude,—some Remembrance of a Kindness received!

But to corrupt the religious and speculative Notions of the People is but little, compared to the alienating their Affections from the Government they live under, by insinuating that they are in Danger of Vassalage, and the very worst of Slavery. Yet even this is done by the Assembly themselves in a Message of *August* the 19th.—“ What, say they, should hinder the “ *Proprietors* another Year to require us to “ plough their Lands, alledging the Usage and “ Custom in *Germany*, and putting us in Mind “ that we are chiefly *Germans*? — This is not “ merely Vassalage! It is worse than any Vassalage we have heard of! It is even more slavish than Slavery itself!”—Is not this astonishing? Would you believe the Men in their
Senses

Senses who could write in such a Strain? Does not the Language itself prove that we are in full Possession of *Liberty*, even to Licentiousness? Are we not secured by wise Laws both against *Vassalage* and *Slavery*? And have not the *Germans* an equal Security by these Laws? Can there be the least Danger of Vassalage or Slavery in any Part of the *British* Empire? And is it not nearly a-kin to Treason itself to work upon the Fears of those poor Foreigners who have taken Refuge among us, and to destroy their Confidence in us, by telling them they are just on the Brink of falling back again into that Vassalage and Slavery, from which many of them fled, as from the most intolerable of all Evils? Can those Men ever be forgiven, who, to serve their own dirty Purposes, can thus corrupt a whole People, and instil Notions into an ignorant and credulous Multitude, which are perhaps never to be removed, and are so much the more dangerous as coming from those whom they have chosen as the *Guardians of their Liberty*? What would not such Men insinuate privately on other Occasions, when we see they do not scruple thus publicly to confound, to distract, and to divide the People, at a time when their Country was bleeding beneath the Outrages of a savage Enemy, and when every Hand and Heart ought rather to have been strengthened and united in the general Cause? Surely nothing need be added to put this third Charge of corrupting and alienating the *Germans*, beyond all possible Doubt!

The *fourth* Charge is, that in all their Debates the Assembly have plainly shewn, that they had no Intention to act like their Neighbours, and grant Money for the general Defence of the Colonies. This will best appear from an Abstract
of

of their Debates themselves, which for that Reason, I laid before you in my last, down to the Month of *December* 1754; the most remarkable of those that have subsisted since that time are briefly laid together by the Governor himself, in a Message of *November* 22, 1755; which, as it is in many Hands, I have procured a Copy of, altho' it has not been yet printed, nor answered, that I hear of.—

After replying to some Objections which they had made to his Proposal of taxing the Proprietors by a separate Bill, with a suspending Clause, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known, he sums up the whole as follows:—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In this, as well as in some other Messages,
 “ you affect to treat me as a Stranger, and tell
 “ me that it is at least probable you are more
 “ deeply concerned for the Distresses of this Coun-
 “ try than I am, because most of you are Na-
 “ tives of it, and have your Estates in it. I am
 “ surprized, Gentlemen, that you do not blush
 “ to have Recourse to such weak and fallacious
 “ Reasoning. Although I was not born within
 “ the Limits of this Province, I was born in its
 “ Neighbourhood. Nay, the chief Part of my
 “ Estate lies much nearer to this City, than the
 “ Estates of some of you, who sit in Assembly;
 “ and when your Estates are in Danger, I can by
 “ no means think mine safe. And here I would
 “ observe, that if the Consideration of being
 “ bred up among you, and possessing large Pro-
 “ perty in the Province, could have secured
 “ your good Treatment of any Governor, my
 “ immediate * Predecessor had the fairest Claim

D

“ to

* *James Hamilton, Esq;* our late Governor.

“ to such Treatment, and would have been ex-
 “ empted from those manifold Abuses, which
 “ it has been his Lot, as well as mine, to re-
 “ ceive at your Hands.—But I conceive, Gen-
 “ tlemen, that our Actions, not the Place of
 “ our Estates or Nativity, are the best Test of
 “ our Affection for this Country. You will
 “ suffer me, therefore, briefly to review your
 “ Conduct and mine, and to leave them both to
 “ speak for themselves.

“ And here, was I inclined to go beyond my
 “ own Times, I might begin with reminding
 “ you, how contemptuously you treated the Pro-
 “ prietary-offer of four hundred Pounds, for
 “ erecting a Place of Strength on the *Ohio*, to-
 “ gether with an Offer of one hundred Pounds
 “ *per Annum* towards its Support ; which Offers
 “ were made at a Time, when your Concurrence
 “ would probably have prevented many of the
 “ Calamities, we now groan under.

“ I might also observe, that when Mr. *Ha-*
 “ *milton* first called upon you, pursuant to his
 “ Majesty's Orders, to grant such Supplies as
 “ would enable him to draw forth the Strength
 “ of the Province, and to repel Force by Force,
 “ you would not admit that the *French* En-
 “ croachments and Fortifications on the *Ohio*
 “ were within our Limits, or his Majesty's Do-
 “ minions ; thereby seeking an Excuse to avoid
 “ doing what was required of you. And when
 “ after the Loss of much Time, you thought
 “ fit to drop this Dispute, you then entered upon
 “ a fresh one, concerning the Legality of royal
 “ Instructions, in order still to gain more Time,
 “ and avoid doing what you judged inconsistent
 “ with your Principles. Nevertheless, it is clear,
 “ that if you had complied with Mr. *Hamilton*'s
 “ Re-

“ Request, and given seasonably, what Money
 “ the Excise could raise in the Term he pro-
 “ posed, the *French* might have been prevented
 “ from strengthening themselves, in their pre-
 “ sent unwarrantable Encroachments.

“ On my Accession to the Government you
 “ begun upon the same Plan of Dispute and
 “ Delay; but as I am informed that there was
 “ a full and strong Representation, both of your
 “ Conduct and mine, so far as related to the
 “ Disputes, in the Beginning of my Admini-
 “ stration, laid before his Majesty in a Report
 “ of the *Lords Commissioners of Trade*, upon
 “ your Address concerning Instructions, I shall
 “ go no farther back than *December* last.

“ On the nineteenth of that Month I com-
 “ municated to you a Letter from Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Robinson*, notifying his Majesty's Intentions of
 “ employing four Regiments, for the Defence
 “ and Security of these Colonies, to be raised and
 “ augmented in *America*, and requiring a Sum
 “ of Money towards a general Fund, and to have
 “ three thousand Men in readiness, with a pro-
 “ per Quantity of Provisions, &c. the whole
 “ to be under the Direction of a general Officer
 “ of Character, who was to be sent as Com-
 “ mander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces
 “ in these Parts; but you did not think fit to
 “ raise a single Man, or give one Farthing of
 “ Money, in compliance with this Request. I
 “ did also at the same Time recommend it to
 “ you, to prepare a Law for regulating the
 “ Wages to be paid for such Tradesmen, Horses
 “ and Carriages, as it might be necessary to im-
 “ press into his Majesty's Service. To this you
 “ replied, That you could not presume the
 “ military Officers would, or ought to have, any

“ Power of impressing Tradesmen, within this
 “ Province,”—“ and that the other Parts of
 “ my Message might remain under Considera-
 “ tion, without any considerable Inconvenience.

“ As soon as the late General arrived, I again
 “ recommended it to you, to make an imme-
 “ diate Provision for raising the Men and sup-
 “ plying the Money, and other Necessaries ex-
 “ pected from this Province; and did through-
 “ out the whole Summer, from time to time,
 “ press you to grant your Aid and Assistance,
 “ to the Expeditions then on Foot. But you
 “ had one general Answer for all, namely, that
 “ if some Bill, which you had always ready
 “ to offer, for striking a Sum of Money, for
 “ the King’s Use, should once be passed, it
 “ would answer all the Purposes required of you;
 “ and yet every of those Bills were all the while
 “ liable to one and the same Objection, on the
 “ Footing of the Royal Instructions. And, be-
 “ sides this, you never took the least Notice of
 “ the Demand for a Supply of Men, which,
 “ from this populous Province, was, at least, as
 “ material an Article as Money.

“ At last, upon the Defeat of his Majesty’s
 “ Forces, for want of that timely Support and
 “ Assistance, which it was in the Power of this
 “ Province to have afforded, I laid before you,
 “ in the strongest Terms, the Dangers to which
 “ this Country stood exposed; and called upon
 “ you, to put it into a *Posture of Defence*, that
 “ the People might be secured against the In-
 “ vasions, naturally to be expected, in conse-
 “ quence of that Defeat. But all this was to
 “ no Purpose. However, having been informed
 “ of the Report of the *Lords of Trade* against
 “ your Address, and that your Conduct was
 “ generally

“ generally condemned in *England*, you thought
 “ fit to drop the old Dispute concerning In-
 “ structions, and to start a new one, about tax-
 “ ing the Proprietary Estate, which you very
 “ well knew I had no Power by my Commission
 “ to do. Besides, as the Proprietaries were ab-
 “ sent, and this your extraordinary Claim, re-
 “ lated to a *Matter of Property*, and was con-
 “ trary to a Law in Force, you could not ima-
 “ gine that it would be easily given up, or
 “ speedily determined; and therefore, you could
 “ propose nothing by it, but; as usual, to evade
 “ the Point of raising an *armed Force*, and grant-
 “ ing the necessary Supplies.

“ Lastly, when in Consideration of the Di-
 “ stresses of this unhappy Country, I have con-
 “ sented even to exceed the Powers of my Com-
 “ mission, in order to lay that Dispute before
 “ his Majesty, by a separate Bill for that par-
 “ ticular Purpose, you start a new Claim, un-
 “ known to former Assemblies, of having your
 “ Bills, giving Money, passed without Amend-
 “ ments; and upon no better Foundation than
 “ this imaginary Privilege, you refuse the ne-
 “ cessary Assistance to your bleeding Country.

“ And now, Gentlemen, give me Leave to
 “ express my Satisfaction at your intended Com-
 “ plaint against me, and to assure you, that no-
 “ thing gives me greater Pleasure than the Hopes
 “ of having my Conduct and yours, laid before
 “ the Crown, where, I hope, they will both un-
 “ dergo the strictest Examination; and, as I
 “ expect no Favour from you, so I am not
 “ afraid of the utmost Efforts of your Malice,
 “ being conscious to myself that I have done
 “ nothing to the Prejudice of the People com-
 “ mitted to my Care, nor neglected any thing
 “ in

“ in my Power that could tend to their Security
 “ and lasting Happiness.

“ Upon the whole, it appears to me, that
 “ you never intended that any of your Bills
 “ should pass, for raising Money to defend the
 “ Province; and this seems now to be placed
 “ beyond all Dispute, since those People, under
 “ whose Influence you are chiefly known to be,
 “ are said to have declared publickly to you,
 “ that they would sooner *suffer*, than *pay* towards
 “ such Purposes*.

“ However, I shall put one Proof more, both
 “ of your Sincerity and mine, in our Professions
 “ of Regard for the Public, by offering to agree
 “ to any Bill, in the present Exigency, which
 “ it is consistent with my Duty to pass; lest be-
 “ fore our present Disputes can be brought to
 “ an Issue, we should neither have a *Privilege* to
 “ dispute about, nor a *Country* to dispute in.”—

So far, in general, it appears they intended to evade the Point of giving Money for Defence; because against their own Principles, and the Principles of those on whom they depend for their Seats in Assembly, as shall be clearly made out before I conclude.

In the mean time, you will perhaps think it strange to hear the Assembly accused, in the above Extract, of refusing to furnish the late General with Waggon, Horses, &c. as you have read in the *English* News-papers, that they furnished every thing of this kind chearfully and seasonably. But this is to be marked down as one of those political Falshoods, which, by some, are thought to be very innocent Things, when the Good of a Party is promoted thereby.

The

* See below the Petition of the Heads of the *Quaker-meeting*, praying the Assembly *not to defend* the Country.

The Matter of Fact, with regard to the Waggon is plainly this. When the General arrived at *Fort Cumberland*, he expected to have found every thing ready for his March towards *Fort du Quesne*. *Virginia* and *Maryland* had promised to furnish some Carriages, but the Truth is, they were not able, having but few Waggon, and very bad Horses. *Pennsylvania* was the only Province capable of supplying a sufficient Number of Carriages, and a Quantity of Provisions. For this Reason, the Governor, as he says in his Message, had before and after the General's Arrival, called on our Assembly to make a proper Provision in this Respect; which they ought the more readily to have done, as the several neighbouring Provinces had, at a great Expence, raised a proper Number of Troops for the general Service; while our Assembly did not raise a single Man, and only provided some Provisions, with a few Presents of Horses, &c. to gain the good Graces of the Officers, who were said to be much enraged at their Conduct, as an Assembly.—

But every Call of this Kind was ineffectual. The General saw the Season far advanced, with very little Prospect of being enabled to proceed on his Design. He, therefore, expressed great Dissatisfaction to Sir *John Sinclair*, the Deputy-quarter-master-general, on Account of the Disappointments he had met with from every Hand. Sir *John*, finding that nothing was to be done without Compulsion, threatened to march down into the Province, as into an Enemy's Country, if we did not immediately send a sufficient Number of Waggon and Horses, to expedite the March of the Army.

It

It happened at that time that *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq; Deputy-post-master-general of *North America*, was near the Army, having gone back to settle a Post at the Expence of this Province, between the back Parts of *Virginia*, and the City of *Philadelphia*, for the better Intelligence during the Troubles on that Quarter. This ingenious and valuable Citizen, foreseeing the bad Consequences of an Impression of Carriages by a military Power in this Province, without the Authority of the civil Power thereof, and knowing that the People might easily be induced to furnish every thing of this Nature, if the proper Steps were taken with them ;—I say, from these Considerations, Mr. *Franklin* thought it his Duty to apply to the *General*, and beg a short Time to try what he could do among his Countrymen by way of Persuasion. The *General* was pleased with the Motion, and put a Sum of Money into his Hands, with full Powers to contract for one hundred and sixty Waggon, and a proper Number of Carriage-horses.

Mr. *Franklin* returned, with all possible Dispatch, to the Borough of *Lancaster*, in the Heart of the Province, where he luckily met Mr. *Chief Justice Allen*, and the two other Judges, with a great Concourse of People, it being at the Time of holding a Court of *Oyer and Terminer*. He communicated his Scheme to Mr. *Allen*, who, with his usual Frankness and great Public-spirit, heartily engaged to assist him ; and did accordingly, with much Address, open the Matter to the People from the Bench, setting forth to them, in the warmest Terms, the Duty they owed to their Sovereign, who had graciously undertaken this expensive Expedition for their

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immediate Safety ; at the same time representing the Distress and Disgrace that would fall upon the Province in case of a Refusal to do what was so much in our Power. He then directed the Constables of the several Townships to return home, and call the People together, in order, as soon as possible, to send in an Account of the Number of Horses and Waggoners they could respectively furnish. This Example was followed by the Justices in the County of *York*, their Court then sitting.

At the same time Mr. *Franklin* published, in *Dutch* and *English*, a very well-adapted Advertisement, telling the People how great a Sum of *good English Gold* they might earn, during the Campaign, by a Compliance ; not forgetting to put them in Mind, that if *Sir John St. Clair, the Hussar*, should come down among them, they might once more see the Dragoonings of *Germany* acted over again, and be forced into a Compliance, without having any Opportunity of manifesting their *free Regard* for the Good of their Country, and the Honour of their Sovereign.

Such an Application to the People by two Gentlemen of the best Characters in the Province, enforced also by the Recommendation of the several County Magistrates, immediately procured the Number of Carriages that were wanted ; and four times as many more might have been procured, if necessary.

Our Assembly had so little to do in all this, that they were not sitting at the time. Mr. *Franklin* was not commissioned by them, but by the *General*. The Waggoners were not to be paid by the Province, but by the *King* ; and a very great Sum is still due to the poor People on this Account, who in the unhappy Action lost

their Horses and Carriages, which were all that many of them had to depend upon for the Subsistence of their Families. Mr. *Franklin*, who has taken the greatest Pains in this whole Affair, without the least Recompence, but the Satisfaction of serving his Country, has, however, obtained an Order from *General Shirley* to pay these poor People their several Accounts, as soon as they can be audited and adjusted by proper Persons.

This is a true State of the Case ; and our Assembly instead of arrogating Praise to themselves, because the Province furnished the necessary Carriages, ought rather to bear the highest Blame. For as the Province was so able to provide every thing of this kind, they were the more inexcusable in not making such a Provision. And it is clear, that if at the Governor's early Request, they had made a Law to regulate the Price of Carriages, &c. if it should be necessary to impress them, a single Justice of the Peace might, on the first Notice, have sent the *General* what Carriages he desired ; by which Means he might have begun his March before the Woods were covered with Leaves, and got to *Fort du Quesne* long before the Reinforcement of the Enemy ; which might in all Probability have given a very different Turn to our Affairs ; and therefore I leave you to judge, whether a great Part of our bad Success may not justly be ascribed to the unnecessary Delays, arising from the Want of Carriages.

The next thing for which our Assembly are highly blameable, was their Treatment of a *free Offer of Lands*, on the West of the *Allegheny* Mountains, made by the Proprietaries, for the more effectual Removal of the *French* from their

Encroachments on the River OHIO. The Governor was particularly empowered to make this Offer, at such a time as he should judge it most for the public Service. Now, while the Expedition was carrying on by the Crown, under *General Braddock*, he could not think such an Offer either seasonable or necessary, for several Reasons.

First, It was hoped that the Business would be accomplished by his Majesty's Troops.

Secondly, If the Assembly refused to co-operate with the Crown, and raise the Men demanded of them, as being contrary to their Principles, the Governor was certain that they never would concur with the Proprietors in any Scheme of a like Nature. But, as soon as he heard of the *General's* Defeat, and knowing that nothing more could be attempted on the Part of the Crown during that Campaign, as *Colonel Dunbar* was marching with the Remainder of the Army towards the City of *Philadelphia*, the Governor then thought that the proper Season for making the Offer of Lands, and setting a new Expedition on foot (on the Part of this Province) was come; and he hoped that the Distress and great Danger to which the Country was now exposed, would dispose the Assembly readily to concur in such a promising Measure. He did, therefore, accordingly send the following Message to them, dated *July* the 29th, 1755.

GENTLEMEN,

“ On the present Emergency, I think it proper, on the Part of the Proprietaries, to propose, as an additional Encouragment to such Persons as shall now engage and go upon an Expedition from this, or the neighbouring Provinces, to remove the *French* from their

“ Encroachment on the River *Ohio*, to grant
 “ the following Quantities of Land West of the
 “ *Allegheny* Mountains, without any Purchase-
 “ money, and with an Exemption from the Pay-
 “ ment of Quit-rent for the Space of fifteen Years
 “ from the first Day of *March* next, viz.

	Acres.
“ To every Colonel —	1000
“ To every Lieutenant-colonel and “ Major — — }	750
“ To every Captain — —	500
“ To every Lieutenant and Ensign	400
“ To every common Soldier —	200

“ The said Lands to be patented to the re-
 “ spective Officers and Soldiers, their Heirs or
 “ Assigns, without any Fees or Charges but those
 “ of surveying; on Condition of Settlement
 “ within the Space of three Years after the Re-
 “ moval of the *French*. And I do recommend
 “ it to you, to afford some Assistance to such
 “ as shall incline to accept of the above Terms,
 “ and make Settlements accordingly.”

In Answer to this, the Assembly immediately
 published a most scurrilous Message, telling the
 People, — “ that the Offer was a meer Illusion
 “ and Imposture; — that the Governor had no
 “ Authority to make any such Offer; — that if
 “ they accepted of it, the Proprietors, when the
 “ Patents were to issue, might demand a Quit-
 “ rent greater than the Worth of the Lands; —
 “ that the *Virginia* vacant Lands were equally
 “ good, more convenient, and to be had on
 “ better Terms.” —

Thus did they treat an Offer which would have
 been productive of the best Consequences; and
 thus also, by the most false and groundless Insi-
 nuations,

nuations, were the Men discouraged, who would, in all Probability, very readily have accepted of such an Offer. I said false and groundless Insinuations; for it could not be thought, that the Governor would make the Offer without sufficient Power so to do. And with regard to the Quit-rent, they were told that it would be no more than the ordinary Quit-rent, which was well known to be Four-shillings and Two-pence Sterling, for one hundred Acres; and lastly, it was expressly said, that the Patents were to be granted without any Fee or Expence to the Adventurers. Moreover, the vacant Lands in *Virginia* were, by no means, comparable to the exceeding fruitful Lands of *Pennsylvania*, on the other Side of the *Allegheny Mountains*, upon and near the *River OHIO*. But even supposing the Lands were equally good, certainly the intrinsic Goodness of Lands is not the only Consideration that determines their Price. This depends upon the Encumbrances under which Lands are purchased, together with several other Circumstances; and, therefore, if our Assembly had been hearty in the Interest of the Province they represent, they would have given a fair State of the Case, and upon comparing our Lands to those of *Virginia*, would have acknowledged that the latter are not only, upon the whole, worse in Quality, but encumbered with the Support of an *established Clergy*, as well as a certain heavy Impost upon the Produce of every Estate in the Colony;—all which we are entirely exempted from. And indeed the People are so sensible of this Advantage, that they always prefer a Settlement in *Pennsylvania*, to a Settlement in any of the Provinces around us. And whenever any of the People migrate from this to any other Province, it is entirely because

cause all our good Lands on this Side the *Allegheny* Mountains are mostly taken up ; and the Assembly have constantly opposed every former Measure, as well as the present, for extending our Settlements on the other Side of the said Mountains, because this cannot be done without an armed Force, at least for some time ; which, as has been frequently observed, being by no means conformable to their particular Plan of Policy, has been the Source of all our Misfortunes.—

But to return to the Disputes about raising of Money, which have subsisted for near two Years. The Governor, on the 28th of *July*, sent another Message to the Assembly, beseeching them to consider,—“ that the Retreat of the
 “ Army, under *Colonel Dunbar*, would leave the
 “ Back-settlements entirely exposed to the In-
 “ cursions of the *French* and *Indians* ; who being
 “ flushed with their late Victory, and encouraged
 “ by our defenceless State, would penetrate deep
 “ into the Province, murdering the Inhabitants,
 “ or driving them from their Habitations (as has
 “ alas ! been too fatally felt.) Wherefore he
 “ earnestly recommended to them to fall upon
 “ speedy Measures for the Protection of the
 “ People, and the Security of the Province.”

As there never was a more urgent Occasion than this, it was hoped that the Assembly would be touched with the bleeding State of their Country, and grant it immediate Relief, in a manner that could admit of no Dispute. But how greatly were we disappointed to find a new Dispute introduced about taxing the Proprietary Estate, intimating in a Message thereupon to the Governor, that it would be in vain to propose any other Matters to their Consideration, till that

was

was previously settled. And yet the Country was all the while in the utmost Distress; and they well knew that as the Dispute related to a *Matter of Property*, it could neither, in Law nor Reason, be settled by any Person but the real Owners of the *Property itself*, who were at three thousand Miles Distance, very little imagining that such an unseasonable Time would be chosen to introduce a new Claim against their Estate, which was not only contrary to the *Usage* of all former Assemblies, but even to a *positive* Law of the Province itself.

The Governor, therefore, refused his Assent to the Bill they sent him on this Emergency, for raising fifty thousand Pounds by a Tax on all Estates real and personal within the Province; and in the Course of the Debates thereupon, it appears that he grounded his Refusal chiefly on the following Reasons:

1st. By the Nature of his Commission, he was only empowered to represent the Proprietaries as Governor of the Province, but not as Landlord of their Estate; and therefore he judged that any Act of his to encumber or alienate any Part of that Estate, without the express Consent of the real Owners, would be void in itself.

2dly, Admitting that he had such Power over the proprietary Estate, he would have refused his Assent to the Bill; because all Governors, whether hereditary or otherwise, having Revenues granted them to support the Dignity of Government, and enable them to do the Duties of their Station, ought to be exempted from Taxes in the common Method. For,

3dly, If a chief Governor were taxed in the ordinary Method, by Assessors chosen wholly by the People, his private Property, which is Part
of

of his necessary Support, would not only be rendered precarious, but he would be deprived of the most *essential Right* enjoyed by every other *Freeman*; and would be taxed by Persons in whose Choice he is allowed no Voice, as being a distinct Branch in *Legislation*, and therefore supposed to represent himself in every Act of Government.

4thly, The Proprietaries of this Province in particular, did consent to a Law for vesting the People with the *sole* Choice of Assessors, with an express *Proviso* that the Proprietary-estate should be exempted from all Taxes to be laid by such Assessors, in the Choice of whom they reserved no Voice. It would, therefore, be highly unreasonable for the People to claim the Privilege secured to them by this Law, and at the same time to violate the Conditions by which the Proprietaries thought themselves *secure* in consenting to such a Law.

5thly, The Assembly's Argument, that the Oath or Affirmation of the Assessors, is sufficient Security for the Proprietors, is entirely foreign to the Purpose; because, by the same Reasoning, every other *Freeman* might think himself equally secure in such Oath or Affirmation, without claiming the valuable Privilege of being taxed *only* by his own Representative.

6thly, Such a Method is not only repugnant to *Reason*, but to the *Spirit of the English Law*, which, notwithstanding the Solemnity of an Oath, *excepts* both against the Judgment and Evidence of *interested* Persons, as capable of being byassed. But every Person, who can be an Assessor in this Province, is *interested*, in some Shape or another, to *ease* his own Estate, by throwing as much as possible of the public Burden

den upon the Estate of the Proprietors, who have not that *Security* for a just Assessment, which every other *Freeman* has, in being capable to become Assessors in their Turn, as well as to oppose the future Choice of any partial or unjust Assessors. And there can be no good Reason why the Proprietors, or chief Governors of this Province, should be the *only* Persons in it, who are deprived of the *legal Security* and most essential *Rights of FREEMEN*.

7thly, The Assembly's Argument, that the *Lords* in Parliament think their Estates sufficiently secure, altho' they are a distinct Branch of the Legislature, and taxed by Assessors chosen by the People, is mere Illusion, and contrary to Fact. For it is well known, that it has always been "one of the distinguishing Privileges of the
" *Peers of Great-Britain*, that they can never
" be assessed towards the *standing Militia* of the
" Nation, but by six or more of themselves." And this is the very Point in Dispute. Besides, both *Lords* and *Commons* in *England* have their peculiar Rights and Privileges, fixed by the Constitution, ripened by Time, and approved by the Wisdom of Ages; and, as the *Lords* and *Commons* do not compose the whole of the *British* Legislature, they cannot stand in the same Relation, one to another, as a chief Governor and Assembly of this Province do, who make up our whole Legislature. It is, therefore, poor Reasoning to plead for a *Similarity* of Usage, where there is not a *Similarity* of the Circumstances upon which the Usage is founded.—

Tho' these were sufficient Reasons for rejecting the Law in Question; yet I am far from denying the Equity of the Proprietaries bearing a Part in the general Burden for the *Defence* of

the Province. The Proprietaries have never been backward in this Respect, and are yearly at a very considerable Expence in Affairs of Government. But that the Assembly should dictate to them both the *Quantum* and *Mode* of this their Expence, appears not only unreasonable, but destructive of the very Nature of mixt Government. For as all *Power* must have a Foundation in *Property*, it is plain that whenever our Assembly shall get the Proprietary Estate subjected to their Mercy, they will be able to compleat their *democratical* Schemes of Power, by having their chief Governor for ever afterwards dependent upon them, as most of the subordinate Officers in the Province already are.

Thus stood the Dispute at the first of *October*, the Time fixed by Charter for the annual Election of Members of Assembly, when the very same Men were returned into the new Assembly, by the usual Artifices * ; excepting one or two Members, who having always been for *Defence*, and finding that they could do no Good by keeping their Seats, declined serving any longer. Of course this new Assembly took up the Dispute just where they had left it. Nothing now remained but the distressing Prospect of continuing to lie at the Mercy of cruel Savages, with our Hands tied up, at least, for one Year longer, by the absurd Principles of our own Legislature, who ought to have *protected* us.

The principal Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, together with such of the Inhabitants of the several Counties, as had a just Sense of the Dangers to which we lay exposed, being now alarmed to the last Degree, saw no Expedient left but humbly

* See the *Brief State* for an Account of the Methods by which the *Quakers* secure their Elections.

bly to lay their distressed Condition once more † at his Majesty's Feet, and implore his gracious Compassion and Protection.

I wish I could favour you with a Copy of their Petition, as it is said to contain a very striking Representation of the Distresses and Dangers of the Province. But the Subscribers of it do not think themselves at Liberty to make it public till his Majesty's gracious Pleasure shall be signified thereupon. In general, it sets forth the great Consternation of the Inhabitants on account of the naked and defenceless State of the Province, at a Season of so imminent Danger, when they expected every Day to be attacked by Blood-thirsty Savages, a mere Handful of whom might, without the least Resistance, carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the Country.

It farther sets forth their hearty Concern at seeing the Hands of many Thousands of brave Men tied up in this Province, by an *unnatural Scheme of Policy*, at a Time when all our Neighbours were purchasing immortal Renown in the Field of Honour.

It intimates that our pacific Measures and defenceless State, had alienated our *Indian* Friends from us, and encouraged the ambitious Measures of our *French* Enemies; and lastly, that it is not probable this Province can ever be brought to pursue different Measures, while the *Quakers*, whose avowed Principles are against *bearing Arms*, find Means to keep their Seats in Assembly, by a gross Abuse of the Foreigners settled among us. And therefore, the Petitioners see no possible Method of saving the Province but by his Majesty's Royal Interposition, to put it

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into

† A like Petition was presented during the last War, just before the Commencement of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*.

into a Posture of Defence, and provide for its future * Security in such a Manner as shall be deemed most for the public Good.

This Petition was immediately signed in the City, and in some of the Counties near it, by a very considerable Number of the principal Inhabitants, and dispatched in a Ship that lay ready to sail for *London*. Had the Time permitted, a very great Number would have signed it in the back Counties also, who were more immediately interested in it; but alas! before the Copies could reach them, all the Fears of Danger, which it expressed, were too fatally realized.

For, about the Middle of *October*, a large Body of *Indians*, chiefly *Shawonefe*, *Delawares*, &c. † (their Numbers uncertain) fell upon this Province

* This as I have more than once observed is only to be done by an Oath or Qualification, excluding all those from any Share of Government whose Principles render them unfit for that which is the great End of Government—the Defence and Protection of the *Governed*.

† These Nations were formerly our Friends: But as they are under the Subjection of the six confederate Nations, the *French* have put the Hatchet into their Hand against us, with a Promise of making them Men again (*i. e.* an independent People) and restoring them to their former Possessions, which they have sold to the *English*. But the chief Cause of their Defection from the Interests of this Province is our *pacific Schemes of Policy* in Times of the greatest Danger, and our repeated Refusal to give them that Protection and Assistance which they have so often requested from us. For, by the Inhumanity and Perfidy of our *French* Enemies, *SCALPING* is become the *Trade of Indians*, and as they find it a profitable Trade, the Time of War is the *Indian Harvest*. Wherefore, as they can neither be idle nor neuter, they will work for those who pay them best, and seem to have most Courage to protect them; regardless of Leagues, or the highest Obligations. And, indeed, while we refuse to fight *with them*, we cannot think that they will fight alone *for us*, against the whole Power of the *French*, and their numerous Tribes of *Indians*. On the contrary, they must look upon us as a pusillanimous People, and make the best Terms they can with our more active and enterprizing Enemies.

Province from several Quarters almost at the same Instant, murdering, burning, and laying waste ; so that in the five Counties of *Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton*, which compose more than half the Province, nothing but Scenes of Distraction and Desolation were to be seen.

The Damage which these Counties have already sustained, by the Desertion of Plantations is not to be reckoned up ! Nor are the Miseries of the poor Inhabitants to be described ; many of whom were, without a Moment's Warning, driven from those Habitations where they enjoyed every *Necessary* of Life, and are now exposed to all the Severity of an approaching Winter ; and obliged to *solicit* their very BREAD at the *cold Hand* of CHARITY. Nor, lastly, are the horrid Barbarities, committed upon those who fell into the Enemies Hands to be paralleled in all the Volumes of Story.

At *Gnadenbitten*, a small *Moravian* Settlement in *Northampton* County, the poor unhappy Sufferers were sitting round their peaceful Supper, when the inhuman Murderers, muffled in the Shades of Night, dark and horrid as the infernal Purpose of their Souls, stole upon them, butchered them, scalped them, and consumed their Bodies, together with their Horses, their Stock, and upwards of sixty Head of fat Cattle (intended for the Subsistence of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*) all in one general Flame ; so that next Morning furnished only a melancholy Spectacle of their mingled Ashes.

At the *Great Cove* in *Cumberland*, at *Tulpehockin* in *Berks*, and in several other Places, the Barbarities were still greater if possible. Men, Women, Children, and Brute-beasts shared one
common

common Destruction; and where they were not burnt to Ashes, their mangled Limbs were found promiscuously strewed upon the Ground, those appertaining to the *human Form* scarce to be distinguished from those of the Brute! Nay Stakes were found driven into the private Parts of the Women, and the Mens private Parts cut off, and put into their Mouths; so that the *Savages* seem to riot and triumph in the most deliberate Acts of infernal Cruelty, and to grow *more savage* at the Thought.—

But of all the Instances of this, which I have heard, I cannot help being most affected with the following.—One Family, consisting of the Husband, his Wife, and a Child only a few Hours old, were all found murdered and scalped in this manner;—the Mother stretched on the Bed with her new born Child horribly mangled, and put under her Head for a Pillow, while the Husband lay on the Ground hard by with his Body ript up, and his Bowels laid open.

In another Place, a Woman with her sucking Child finding that she had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, fell flat on her Face, prompted by the strong Call of Nature to cover and shelter her innocent Child with her own Body. The accursed Savage rushed from his lurking Place, struck her in the Head with a *Tomahawk*, tore off her Scalp, and scoured back into the Woods, without observing the Child, being apprehensive that he was discovered. The Child was found some Time afterwards under the Body of its Mother, and is yet alive.

Last of all, to fill up the Measure of our Sorrow, many of our young Women are carried into Captivity, being reserved, perhaps, for a worse Fate than those who suffered Death in all

its horrid Shapes ; and no Wonder, since they are reserved by Savages, whose tender Mercies may be accounted more cruel than their very Cruelty itself.

On the first Notice of these Misfortunes, our ever faithful Friend *Scarrooyady* † (alias *Monokatoathy*) came hastening to *Philadelphia*, together with Colonel *Weiser* * the Provincial Interpreter, and two other *Indian* Chiefs. A Mixture of Grief, Indignation, and Concern sat upon their Countenances. *Scarrooyady* immediately demanded an Audience, which was granted him in the Presence of the Governor and the whole House of Assembly ; when he spoke to the following Effect.—

“ BRE-

† He is one of the six Nations that has long lived among our friendly *Indians* about *Shamokin*, and other Places on *Sasquehannah*. He with one or two more, stood by *General Braddock* to the last, altho’ a few Days before the Battle on the *Mohongehela* he lost his Son, a bold Warrior, shot by an unlucky Mistake of one of our own Soldiers. *Scarrooyady* greatly lamented him, and said, that if he had fallen in honourable Battle, he should have thought him happy ; but to be killed by his Friends, whom he was faithfully serving, was a mortifying Consideration. Nevertheless the old Man fought heroically for us at the Battle, and ’tis said after he had fired away all his Ammunition, and saw the Day going against us, being quite overcome with Fatigue, he sat down under a Tree, smoked his Pipe, ruminating upon the impending Event, with more than *Roman* Firmness and Composure of Soul.

* Mr. *Weiser* has greatly distinguished himself during our Troubles by his superior Sagacity and Resolution. On the first Alarm he put himself at the Head of his Neighbours, exhorted them to make a bold Stand, and told them that he knew the Nature of *Indians* well, and all that was terrible about them ; that he had often tried the Strength of his own right Arm together with theirs, during a long Intercourse with their various Nations ; and that he could engage his Honour and Credit that they would be found to have neither more Bravery nor more Strength than those of his Countrymen, that then heard him. On the contrary he observed, that

“ BRETHREN,

“ We are once more come among you,
 “ and sincerely condole with you on account of
 “ the late Bloodshed; and the awful Cloud that
 “ hangs over you, and over us. *Brethren*, you
 “ may be undoubtedly assured, that these horrid
 “ Actions were committed by none of those
 “ Nations that have any Fellowship with us;
 “ but by certain false-hearted and treacherous
 “ Brethren. It grieves us more than all our
 “ other Misfortunes, that any of our good
 “ Friends the *English* should suspect us of hav-
 “ ing false Hearts.

“ BRETHREN,

“ If you were not an infatuated People, we
 “ are yet about * three hundred Warriors firm
 “ to your Interest; and if you are so unjust to
 “ us, as to retain any Doubts of our Sincerity,
 “ we offer to put our Wives, our Children, and
 “ all we have, into your Hands, to deal with
 “ them as seemeth good to you, if we are found
 “ in

that they durst not meet the Face of a Man in the open Field; but that their *whole Art* lay in SCULKING, and their *whole Bravery* in MURDER. He therefore, desired every one, whose Heart failed him, to return home, that he might know what he had to trust to in the Hour of Trial. This had a proper Effect, in firing those to whom he spoke; but they were soon informed that the Enemy had left the Place where they were believed to be; and how an undisciplined Mob would have behaved, who were all acting voluntarily, without any Law of the Country, I cannot tell. In such Cases it is hardly possible to keep up Order.

* It may be much doubted whether we have near that Number of *Indians* inclined to act with us. Yet we have many who are inclined, but are afraid to declare themselves, for fear of the Enemy. They can only give us private Hints of Danger, which they frequently do.

“ in the least to swerve from you *. But, *Bre-*
 “ *thren*, you must support and assist us, for we
 “ are not able to fight alone against the power-
 “ ful Nations who are coming against you ; and
 “ you must this Moment resolve and give us
 “ an explicit Answer what you will do : For
 “ these Nations have sent to desire us, as old
 “ Friends, either to join them, or to get out of
 “ their Way, and shift for ourselves. Alas !
 “ *Brethren*, we are sorry to leave you ! we re-
 “ member the many Tokens of your Friendship
 “ to us ;—But what shall we do ? We cannot
 “ stand alone, and you will not stand with us.—

“ BRETHREN,

“ The Time is precious. While we are here
 “ consulting with you, we know not what may
 “ be the Fate of our Brethren at home. We
 “ do, therefore, once more invite and request
 “ you to act like Men, and be no longer as
 “ Women, pursuing weak Measures, that ren-
 “ der your Names despicable. If you will put
 “ the Hatchet into our Hands, and send out a
 “ Number of your young Men in Conjunction
 “ with our Warriors, and provide the necessary
 “ Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, and like-
 “ wise build some strong Houses for the Pro-
 “ tection of our old Men, Women, and Chil-
 “ dren, while we are absent in War, we shall
 “ soon wipe the Tears from your Eyes, and
 “ make these false-hearted Brethren repent their
 “ Treachery and Baseness towards you and to-
 “ wards us.

“ But

* One of the Chiefs of these *Indians* near a Year ago
 placed two of his Sons at the Academy of *Philadelphia*,
 where now they begin to read and to speak *English*.

“ But we must at the same Time solemnly
 “ assure you, that if you delay any longer to act
 “ heartily in Conjunction with us, or think to
 “ put us off, as usual, with uncertain Hopes,
 “ you will see our Faces under this Roof no
 “ more. We must shift for our own Safety,
 “ and leave you to the Mercy of your Enemies
 “ as an infatuated People, upon whom we can
 “ have no longer Dependence.”

The Tears stood in the old Man's Eyes while he delivered this last Part, and no Wonder, since the very Being of his Nation depended upon their joining the Enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make head against them. This Speech was made on the Afternoon of a *Saturday*, and the Assembly, far from entering into the Consideration of the Affair, adjourned immediately, and did not meet to do any Business till the *Tuesday* following, which highly disgusted the *Indians* to think we had so little Feeling of their urgent Distress. Several Days passed and they had no Answer, altho' they every Day expressed the most earnest Desire to be gone. The Governor, therefore, sent a Message to the Assembly, intimating, “ That if they neglected this most important Application, and obstinately persisted in their *pacific* Measures, thereby forcing these *Indians*, not only to leave us, but to act against us, all the dreadful Consequences of it must be left at their Door; for he was willing and desirous to do every Thing in his Power for the Protection and Assistance, as well of these our *Indian* Allies, as of the Inhabitants of the Province in general.” *

In Answer to this the Assembly evaded the Subject, by the stale Pretence that their Money-Bill,

* Message, *November* the 10th.

Bill, if passed, would do all: But it was not Money these *Indians* wanted; it was the Assistance of our Arms; for, on such Emergencies, they condemn our Presents, and, in their own emphatical Language, call them by the Name of Trash, which one may drink and *piss out again*. And further, without a *Militia Law*, the *Indians* will never be willing to risk their Lives for us, since they never can rely on any Assistance which our Volunteers may give them, in a Cause, which is not deemed worthy of the Sanction and Care of our own Legislature.

But to divert the public Attention still further from this Point, the Assembly proposed to the Governor to set an Enquiry on foot, whether any Injustice had ever been offered to the *Shawoneſe* and other *Indians*, who were then scalping the Inhabitants, “ principally in the late Proprietary Purchase,” as they termed it. By this extraordinary Proposal, the Assembly hoped to throw the *Odium* of the *Indian Defection* upon the Proprietors, and not upon their own continued Refusal to put the Hatchet into the Hands of the said *Indians* at their repeated Solicitations.*

Nothing could be more ridiculous and unseasonable than such a Quibble at this Time.—In the first Place the *Indians* were obliged to *scalp* the Inhabitants in *the late Purchase*, before they could get at any *former Purchase*†. And the

G 2

Assembly

* *Scarrooyady* and *Andrew Montour* at this very Time declared publickly, that the Defection of the *Shawoneſe* and *Delawares* was wholly owing to the above Causes, and to the Increase of Credit and Reputation gained by the *French* on the Defeat of General *Braddock*, together with their Promises and intimidating Threats towards the said *Indians*. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, N^o 1407.

† They have since too fatally convinced us that they make no Distinction of Purchases.

Assembly have since been brought to acknowledge, upon an Inspection of the *Indian* Treaties and Council Books—" That they believe great
 " Care has *generally* been taken to do the *In-*
 " *dians* Justice by the Proprietaries in all their
 " Purchases and other public Transactions;—
 " and that the Proprietaries have done wisely,
 " not only to purchase their Lands, but to pur-
 " chase them more than once, for peace-sake ;
 " and that it appears that the *Shawonefe* could
 " have *but a slender* Foundation for any Claim
 " of Satisfaction for Lands in this Province,"—
 where in Truth it has been made appear they never had any Lands or Claim at all.—

But let us suppose they had a just Right to Lands among us, certainly Protection is due in the first place to the People who have, *bona fide*, purchased and settled these Lands ; and when once their Lives are secured, and the Invaders forced to listen to Reason, then will be the proper Time to propose such an Enquiry and Satisfaction.

The Back Inhabitants living upon and near these Lands, lost all Patience at the Assembly's Conduct in this Affair *. They looked upon it as an egregious and solemn Trifling with their Lives and Properties. They petitioned ; they remonstrated ; nay, they threatened that they would march down and tear the whole Members of the legislative Body Limb from Limb, if they did not grant them immediate Protection. They complained of the flagrant Injustice done them in not allowing the Back Counties their due Proportion

* What most of all exasperated the People was, that the *Quakers* had, during the Incurfions upon our Neighbours, always given out that the *Indians* would never meddle with *Pennsylvania*, and thus continually lulled us in Security, and evaded the Subject of Defence.—

portion of Representatives, which made their Interests to be so little considered, and their Distresses so little felt, by the *Legislature*, at this Time of Calamity.

And, indeed, there is not perhaps a more flagrant Piece of Iniquity subsisting among any free People, than the Manner in which this Province is represented in Assembly. We have eight Counties, and out of *thirty-six* Members, the three old Counties, where the *Quakers* are settled, return *twenty-six* of the Number. The other five Counties, settled with People of many other Denominations, especially *Presbyterians* from the North of *Ireland*, send only the *ten* remaining Members among them. This was the Policy of the *Quakers* at the first Erection of the five last Counties; by which means, together with their Artifices among the *Germans*, the *Quakers* are always a vast Majority in the Assembly, altho' they are not near one *fifth* of the People in the Province.

Whenever, therefore, an Enquiry shall be made into the Methods by which the Inhabitants in the Five Back Counties, who are so great a Majority, have been so long kept from acting in their own Defence, altho' eager to distinguish themselves in Conjunction with their brave Neighbours of other Colonies; I hope it will be ascribed to this iniquitous Method of representing the Province, which makes the Interest of particular Places and Denominations of Men to be preferred to the general Service; and, I doubt not, a proper Remedy will be applied. For, at present, all the Back Inhabitants, notwithstanding their Majority, are absolutely at the Mercy of a Faction, chosen from three Counties, where the *Quakers* have very sneakingly taken
Care

Care to seat themselves, because they lie out of Danger, and are secured by the other Counties. And, in return, these other Counties are thus unjustly treated, altho' they are our Barrier, and more immediately concerned in every thing that can come before the Assembly, (especially on the Subject of Defence) than the old Counties can be.

Hence if the Back Counties were but fairly represented, it would be impossible to tie up the Hands of the People. We should much sooner have been alarmed with our Danger; the *Quakers* would not have been able to oppose the Measures concerted for our Defence, and we should have made a very different Figure from what we now do, because the general Interests of the whole People would have been properly felt and considered, by a Legislature, taken equally out of all Parts of the Country.

If this Piece of Iniquity is not speedily redressed, it will be productive of much Confusion and Ill-blood among ourselves. The *Scotch Irish*, in particular, think that the *Quakers* have a secret Satisfaction in seeing their increasing Multitude *thinned* and *beggared* in the Back Counties; as will appear from the following genuine Letter, which it would be unpardonable not to insert in this Place, as it so well explains the Subject I am upon, together with the Principles of our *Quakers*. It was written from a Gentleman in the Back Counties to his Friend in Town, on reading the printed Messages concerning the *Indians*, &c. of which I have just been speaking.

“ November 19, 1755.

“ I would say much more on these Topics—
 “ but my Heart is so full of another Subject,
 “ that

“ that I must pour it out to ease myself. You
 “ told me the Assembly were like to do nothing.
 “ I have, since that, read the Messages that
 “ passed between the Governor and them, and
 “ read them with Concern and Vexation of Spi-
 “ rit. I heretofore used to put soft Construc-
 “ tions on their Conduct, and hoped they were
 “ willing to act for the Defence of their Coun-
 “ try, in their own Way: But now they have
 “ sufficiently undeceived me.

“ I think the Governor speaks guardedly, and
 “ shews a proper Zeal for the Defence of the
 “ Inhabitants, tho’ the Assembly endeavour not
 “ only to diminish, but annihilate, all his Pro-
 “ fessions on that Head, by pretending to prove,
 “ that his Commission and Instructions do not
 “ so far limit him, but that he might consistently
 “ pass the Bill they propose, if he were willing.
 “ Yet I see no Reason why they should not al-
 “ low him a Conscience as well as themselves.

“ As to the Affair of the *Indians*, I think
 “ the Governor used very mild Language, and
 “ such as did not shew him to be so exceeding-
 “ ly displeased with the Assembly’s Application
 “ and Questions on that Head, as he had Rea-
 “ son to be: For he only says, that their Lan-
 “ guage seems very extraordinary, when, in-
 “ stead of strengthening his Hands for the Pro-
 “ tection of the People, and the Repulsion of a
 “ savage Enemy, at this Time of imminent Pe-
 “ ril, they talk of regaining the Affection of the
 “ said Savages, while they are laying waste the
 “ Country, and of setting a-foot an Enquiry
 “ into what Injustice they have received, and
 “ why they are fallen from their Alliance with
 “ us, &c. when they have never complained of
 “ any Injustice done them;—and when every
 “ Man

“ Man of us may be butchered before we can
 “ discover the true Motives which have induced
 “ them to become our Murderers.—

“ I am not the Governor, nor connected with
 “ him by any Dependence, nor made partial in
 “ his Favour so much as by Acquaintance ; yet
 “ I read their Message on that Head with Sur-
 “ prize, nor could I refrain from despising it as
 “ the most egregious Trifling. It is of so ex-
 “ traordinary a Nature, that I cannot find an
 “ adequate Resemblance of it. But I will sup-
 “ pose some of these Assembly-Men’s Houses in
 “ Town to be on Fire, and they come to you,
 “ in breathless Haste, calling for Buckets and
 “ Water: Then, instead of affording them what
 “ Help you can, suppose you should proceed
 “ leisurely and calmly to enquire of them, how
 “ the House caught Fire? Was it by Design
 “ of any malicious Person? If so, pray who was
 “ he? And what was the supposed Rise of his
 “ Malice? Did he receive any Affront? And
 “ what was it? And when? Or did the House
 “ catch by Accident? Or was it owing to the
 “ Carelessness of a Servant? And was he a black
 “ Servant, or a white one? Bond or Free?
 “ And will you order him to be punished for
 “ it? Or will you give him fair Words that
 “ he may not do so again?—Talk to them at
 “ this Rate, and see, in such a Case, if their Pa-
 “ tience will enable them to stand and hear you
 “ out; or whether they will think you in ear-
 “ nest to help them, or only mocking them, and
 “ trifling with their Distress. The Application
 “ is easy.

“ But our Assembly, when called to extin-
 “ guish the Flames of their Country, tell us far-
 “ ther, that they can do nothing, nor know what
 “ Bills

“ Bills to propose, as every one is rejected on
 “ some Pretence or another. But whoever is
 “ imposed on by this Talk must be criminally
 “ weak and dull; for is it not very possible and
 “ easy at this Juncture, when all is at Stake, to
 “ strike ten, or fifteen, or twenty thousand
 “ Pounds, and sink it in *five Years* by the Ex-
 “ cise; and in the mean Time, by an insensible
 “ Addition to our Taxes, to raise Money for
 “ Support of Government? Do they not know
 “ that such a Bill as this will pass? Yes, they
 “ do know it, and the Governor has repeatedly
 “ offered to pass such a Bill! Now, would not
 “ the least of these Sums be of great Service in
 “ procuring Defence for the back Inhabitants?
 “ But we must be amused with great Things in
 “ order the more gracefully to give us nothing.
 “ I had rather have ten thousand Pounds certain,
 “ than the Proposal of sixty thousand Pounds on
 “ a Footing that renders my receiving it im-
 “ practicable. Nay to offer one hundred Thou-
 “ sand Pounds on such a Footing is generously
 “ to offer nothing at all.

“ But further, why do they not prepare a
 “ Bill for a REGULAR MILITIA as the Gover-
 “ nor proposes? Do they not certainly know
 “ that such a Bill would likewise pass? Yet they
 “ never mention a Word about it, tho’ at this
 “ Juncture more necessary than Money itself, to
 “ the uniting and due Management of our
 “ Strength. When this is considered, who is so
 “ grossly stupid as ever to believe them any
 “ more, when they pretend that the Governor is
 “ wholly to blame for our being in a defenceless
 “ State? If their Conscience forbids them to
 “ pass a *military Act*, why do they sit in the
 “ Seat of Government, at such a Time as this?

“ If they will not act themselves, they may be
 “ excused ; but, when they will not let others
 “ act, that are willing to defend themselves, they
 “ are for ever inexcusable. They are now in
 “ the Place of our *Protectors*. Our Country
 “ depopulated, our Fellow-subjects spoiled and
 “ murdered, our Wives and Children flying for
 “ Fear—all call to them for Help. Certainly
 “ then, when they refuse to afford what they
 “ can and ought to afford, by all Ties whatso-
 “ ever, they are guilty of destroying those whom
 “ they do not endeavour to preserve ; and on
 “ this Principle, it will clearly follow, that a
 “ Multitude of our *Quakers*, *Assembly-Men*, and
 “ others, are the bloodiest People in our Land ;
 “ and the Blood of those who are murdered
 “ thro’ their Default, cries to Heaven against
 “ them, let them make light of it as long as
 “ they can.

“ I say make light of it ; for I have been
 “ well informed, that a Member of the Assem-
 “ bly * sent back to inform himself and Bre-
 “ thren of the Truth of the Ravages and Inhu-
 “ manities committed amongst us, finding that
 “ Things were full as bad as they were repre-
 “ sented, he replied with great Indifference, that
 “ *there were only some SCOTCH-IRISH KILLED,*
 “ *who could well enough be spared.* This is the
 “ common Language of many of these People.
 “ It is our Crime not to be Dupes to *Quaker*
 “ Politics, and the more of us are destroyed,
 “ the fewer will remain to oppose their dirty In-
 “ terests. My very Soul rises at the Thought !
 “ And these hard-hearted Wretches will find
 “ that God will require the Blood of *Scotch-Irish*
 “ at

* *Nathaniel Grubb*, a Quaker, Member for *Chester* Coun-
 ty, made this Speech at *Lancaster*, &c,

“ at their Hands as soon as the Blood of *Qua-*
 “ *kers*; and it will cry equally loud from the
 “ Earth for Vengeance. But, perhaps, they
 “ will exculpate themselves, as usual, by plead-
 “ ing their Endeavours to preserve the Lives of
 “ the savage Murderers, and so they still *pre-*
 “ *serve Life*. This is true; but then they pre-
 “ serve Lives that by all Laws, *both divine and*
 “ *human*, ought to be destroyed; and in so do-
 “ ing they destroy those Lives which they are
 “ obliged, by the same Laws, to preserve.—

“ Now if any of the more serious *Quakers*
 “ this Way seem disturbed with this distressing
 “ Aspect of Affairs, their leading Ones hush
 “ them, bid them be quite easy, assuring them,
 “ that neither *French* nor *Indians* will hurt the
 “ *Quakers*. This, with some other Circum-
 “ stances, has made many People surmise, that
 “ by some private Articles, which they either
 “ have, or design to enter into with our Ene-
 “ mies, the *Quakers* have secured their Society.
 “ And when they are seen to affect Indifference
 “ about the present State of Things, and dis-
 “ dainfully to sneer at our *military Preparations*,
 “ it gives great Ground to believe that this
 “ Coolness must proceed from some such Cause,
 “ or from the grossest Stupidity and Blindness;
 “ for if their *Faith*, as they pretend, was so great
 “ in this Case as to be Walls of *Brass* around
 “ them, Why does not the same Faith shew it-
 “ self equally in all other Cases? But the Truth
 “ is, that in all other Affairs, they seem to have
 “ no greater *Faith* than their Neighbours, nor
 “ so great as many of them. They can as little
 “ cast their Bread upon the Waters as any Peo-
 “ ple I know. Nor do they in any common
 “ Matters pretend to trust God, without the *Use*

“ of *Means*. They plow and they sow; they
 “ reap, and they gather into Barns, as others do.
 “ Nor are they less *carnal* in their Tempers
 “ than the *People of this World*. Let them be
 “ touched, they will rail and reproach! And
 “ what Spitefulness, Partiality, and Envy ap-
 “ pear at Elections, if they meet with the least
 “ Controul, is too open to be hid from any that
 “ know them.

“ Indeed, I by no means think of them all
 “ alike. Some are candid and rational, and
 “ have shewn themselves heartily concerned for
 “ the Protection of the back Inhabitants. These,
 “ tho’ *better Patriots*, and *better Men* than
 “ others, yet are worse *Quakers*, and that in the
 “ Judgment of their Brethren. For, have they
 “ not censured in their Meetings those Persons
 “ who were in any respect aiding and forward-
 “ ing our Expedition to the Frontiers against
 “ the *Indians*. Thus, instead of helping to pre-
 “ serve us, they rather strive to deliver us into
 “ our Enemies Hands, and all this so conscien-
 “ tiously as to think they do God Service in so
 “ doing. Their Consciences are mighty tender
 “ of shedding the Blood of *Indian Murderers*,
 “ but hardened and seared as to shedding the
 “ Blood, at least of the *Scotch-Irish*. The *Pa-*
 “ *pists* think they do God Service by killing us
 “ as *Heretics*. The *Quakers* think they do the
 “ same, by looking calmly on, while we are
 “ killed to their Hand. And where lies the
 “ Difference? Both act as their Religion dictates,
 “ and both are *staunch*, *bigotted*, and *pharisaical*
 “ alike.—Now it is certain, that they, who pro-
 “ fess to be our Friends, if they are not with us,
 “ when Need requires, they are to be reckoned
 “ against us; and therefore we may well reckon
 “ very

“ very many of the *Quakers* to be our real Enemies. And when the Principles of their Religion lead them into this Dilemma, that they must either counteract them, or act like Enemies and Traitors to their Country, I think it demonstrates their Religion to be contradictory to Reason, to *Scripture*, and to the Laws of Nature and Nations.

“ *Wherefore, SUCH A RELIGION ought to be rejected, and, if possible, extirpated from the Face of the whole Earth, by every good PATRIOT and good CHRISTIAN; not only as it is subversive of all Society, but also as it is destructive of that very Peace and good Will among Men, which it pretends, in a more eminent Degree, to preserve and propagate.*”—
 &c.—

This Gentleman had greater Reason than he knew of, to reckon our *Quakers* some of the bloodiest People in our Land, and to conclude that their Religion, which makes them so, ought to be rejected by every good Citizen. For, in the midst of this Distress, the *Quaker*-Members of Assembly were cited into a private House by three famous *Quaker* Preachers lately from *England*, one Male and the other two Female; where they were *lectured* for several Hours, and told that if ever they gave up, or acted inconsistent with, that distinguishing Tenet of their Religion, which restrained them from bearing Arms, or contributing to Defence, they would no longer be a separate People, but would dwindle away insensibly, among the *Men of the Earth*.

At the same Time the Heads of the Meeting in this City joined their Influence to that of their Preachers, and in their own Name, and in the Name of all the *Quakers* in the Province, presented

sented the following remarkable *Address to the Assembly*, who were now pressed on every Side, and could not stand it out much longer, without raising the People in Rebellion.—

“ TO the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREE-
 “ MEN *of the Province of Pennsylvania*, in
 “ General Assembly met,

“ THE ADDRESS of some of the People cal-
 “ led QUAKERS, in behalf of themselves
 “ and others in the said Province.

“ The Consideration of the Measures which
 “ have lately been pursued, and are now pro-
 “ posed, having been weightily impressed on
 “ our Minds, we apprehend that we should fall
 “ short of our Duty to you, to ourselves, and to
 “ our Brethren in *religious Fellowship*, if we did
 “ not in this Manner inform you, that although
 “ we shall at all Times, heartily and freely con-
 “ tribute, according to our Circumstances, ei-
 “ ther by the Payment of Taxes, or in such
 “ other Manner as may be judged necessary to-
 “ wards the Exigencies of Government, and sin-
 “ cerely desire that due Care may be taken, and
 “ proper Funds provided for raising Money to
 “ cultivate our Friendship with our *Indian*
 “ Neighbours, and to support such of our Fel-
 “ low-subjects, who now are, or may be, in *Dis-*
 “ *stress*, and for such other like benevolent Pur-
 “ poses; yet as the raising Sums of Money, and
 “ putting them into the *Hands of Committees*,
 “ who may apply them to Purposes *inconsistent*
 “ with the PEACEABLE TESTIMONY we pro-
 “ fess, and have borne to the World, appears
 “ to us, in its Consequences, to be destructive
 “ of our *religious Liberties*; we apprehend ma-
 “ ny

“ ny among us, will be under the Necessity of
 “ *suffering*, rather than consenting thereto, by
 “ the Payment of a Tax for *such* Purposes ; and
 “ thus the *fundamental Part of our Constitution*
 “ may be *essentially* affected, and that free En-
 “ joyment of *Liberty of Conscience* (for the Sake
 “ of which our Fore-fathers left their native
 “ Country, and settled this, then a Wilderness)
 “ by Degrees be violated.

“ We sincerely assure you we have no tempo-
 “ ral Motives for thus addressing you, and could
 “ we have preserved Peace in our own Minds,
 “ and with each other, we should have declined
 “ it, being unwilling to give you any unneces-
 “ sary Trouble ; and deeply sensible of your
 “ Difficulty in discharging the Trust committed
 “ to you irreproachably in these perilous Times,
 “ which hath engaged our fervent Desires, that
 “ the *immediate* Instruction of *supreme Wisdom*
 “ may influence your Minds, and that being
 “ preserved in a steady Attention thereto, you
 “ may be enabled to *secure Peace* and Tranquil-
 “ lity to yourselves and those you represent, *by*
 “ *pursuing Measures consistent with our* PEACE-
 “ ABLE PRINCIPLES, and then we trust, we may
 “ continue humbly to confide in the Protection
 “ of that Almighty Power whose Providence
 “ has heretofore been as Walls and Bulwarks
 “ round about us.”—

Delivered 6th November 1755.

This Address hastened Things to their desired
 Issue. It was now clearly perceived under what
 Influence the Assembly were acting, and that all
 their Disputes had been nothing but Expedients
 to protract Time and oblige a Party, whom they
 durst not tax for Defence without losing their
 Seats ;

Seats; since the said Party, when Matters were now brought to an Extremity, did not scruple to declare publicly, that they would sooner SUFFER than contribute to such Purposes. The principal Part of the Inhabitants of this City read the said Address with Indignation, and could only consider it as a most impudent Request to sacrifice the greater Part of the Province to the undue Influence of a Set of wrong-headed Enthusiasts!

The Mayor of the City, therefore, summoned all the Inhabitants of every Rank to meet him on the 12th of *November*, in order to obtain their Sense of the present State of Affairs, and to join him in a Representation to the Assembly, in which, as an Antidote to the *Quaker-Poison*, as well as in Duty to the poor Sufferers, he proposed that they should not only insist upon *raising* Money for Defence, but also that they should make a peremptory DEMAND of a *proper Military Law*, that the Country might no longer be sacrificed to the Interests of a Faction. The same Day the following spirited *Representation*, containing some unanswerable Arguments for a *Military Power*, was accordingly signed by the principal Inhabitants, and immediately presented by the Mayor, in their Name.

“ A REPRESENTATION to the General-Assembly of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, by several of the principal Inhabitants of the City of *Philadelphia*, in the said Province.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ At a Time when a bold and barbarous Enemy has advanced within * a hundred Miles

“ of

* The Enemy since that have laid waste upwards of 30 Miles, so that our Frontier in some Parts is but about 60 Miles from our Seat of Government.

“ of this our Metropolis, carrying Murder and
 “ Desolation along with them ; and when we
 “ see our Country already stained with the Blood
 “ of many of its Inhabitants, and upwards of a
 “ thousand Families, who very lately enjoyed
 “ Peace and Comfort in their own Habitations,
 “ now dispersed over the Province, many of
 “ them in the most miserable and starving Con-
 “ dition, exposed to all the Hardships and Se-
 “ verity of the Season :—We say, in such a Si-
 “ tuation, we should think ourselves greatly
 “ wanting in Regard for our own *personal Safe-*
 “ *ty*, as well as in Compassion for our *bleeding*
 “ *and suffering Fellow-Subjects*, if we did not
 “ thus publicly join our Names to the Number
 “ of those who are requesting you to *pass a*
 “ *Law*, in order to put the Province in a *Pos-*
 “ *ture of Defence*, and to put a Stop to those
 “ cruel and savage Outrages, which must other-
 “ wise soon prove our Ruin.

“ We hope we shall always be enabled to pre-
 “ serve that Respect to you, which we would
 “ willingly pay to those who are the FAITHFUL
 “ *Representatives of the Freemen* of this Province.
 “ But, on the present Occasion, you will for-
 “ give us, *Gentlemen*, if we assume Characters
 “ something higher than that of *humble Suitors*,
 “ PRAYING for the *Defence of our Lives and*
 “ *Properties*, as matter of GRACE and FAVOUR
 “ on your side. You will permit us to make a
 “ positive and immediate DEMAND of it, as a
 “ Matter of *perfect and unalienable RIGHT* on
 “ our own Parts, both by the Laws of GOD
 “ and MAN. And to this we are induced by
 “ the following Considerations.—

“ 1. The Approach of Winter brings along
 with it the dreadful Prospect of a continual

“ Increase of the Inroads of those *preying Sa-*
 “ *vages* upon our Inhabitants, unless a *proper*
 “ *Force* is immediately provided to *protect* and
 “ *defend* them.

“ The *proper and natural Force* of every Coun-
 “ try is its MILITIA; without which we know
 “ of no Government that ever could subsist it-
 “ self; for it is highly unjust to think that the
 “ *Burden of Defence* should fall upon *Individuals*,
 “ when the Design of Government is to obtain
 “ GENERAL SECURITY by a GENERAL Union
 “ of the FORCE of *Individuals*.

“ 3. Consequently we conceive it a Subver-
 “ sion of the very End of Government, to
 “ deny that LEGAL *Protection* to the Governed,
 “ for obtaining of which, Government was ori-
 “ ginally instituted.

“ 4. In our own particular Case, altho' Men
 “ could be found willing to risk their Lives for
 “ the *Publick*, and could be subjected to neces-
 “ sary Order and Discipline, without the Aid
 “ or Encouragement of *Law* (which we cannot
 “ conceive possible) yet it would neither be
 “ adviseable for the Sake of such Men them-
 “ selves, nor yet for the sake of *public Liberty*, to
 “ keep up an *armed Force* in the Country, with-
 “ out the Sanction and Authority of *Law*; espe-
 “ cially as it is so much in your Power to give
 “ such a Sanction and Authority.

“ 5. Unless the *Defence* of this Province, and
 “ of our *Indian Allies*, is made the *Act of the*
 “ *whole Legislature*, and vigorously gone into,
 “ the *Indians* who are now in Town, have pub-
 “ licly declared for themselves, and for their
 “ Friends who yet remain in our Interest, that
 “ they can no longer repose any Faith in us;
 “ but must shift for their own Safety, and leave

“ us

“ us to ourselves, as a People void of Spirit, and
 “ void of Conduct.

“ 6. We are of Opinion, that no Sums of
 “ Money, however great, will answer the Pur-
 “ poses of *Defence*, without such a *Law* as we
 “ desire. We cannot, therefore, think that it
 “ shews a proper Concern for the Lives of the
 “ People of this Province, at so dangerous a
 “ Juncture, to propose Sums of Money in the
 “ room of such a *necessary Law*; and to propose
 “ raising these Sums too, in a Manner that must
 “ occasion Disputes and Delays, when there are
 “ so many unexceptionable Ways and Means,
 “ agreeable to which the People in general are
 “ very ready to pay any reasonable Proportion
 “ of their Property, for the Preservation of the
 “ Residue.

“ Upon the whole, *Gentlemen*, we must be
 “ permitted to repeat our *Demand*, that you will
 “ immediately *frame and offer a Law for the De-*
 “ *fence of the Province*, in such a manner as the
 “ present Exigency requires. The Time does
 “ not permit many Hands to be put to this Re-
 “ presentation. But if Numbers are necessary,
 “ we trust that we shall neither want a sufficient
 “ Number of *Hands nor Hearts* to second and
 “ support us, till we finally obtain such a just and
 “ reasonable Demand.” Delivered Nov. 12th.

In this the *Mayor* acted only as a private Man among his Citizens; but seeing Things still in the greatest Confusion, the Corporation of the City (as soon afterwards as they could) thought it incumbent upon them, as a Body-politic, charged with the Peace and Safety of the City, to signify their just Apprehensions of the Danger to which they were exposed, and to *remonstrate*,

in the most solemn and public Manner, against the Measures then pursued ; which they did, from a very full Board, as follows :

“ To the Representatives of the Freemen of the
 “ Province of *Pennsylvania*, in Assembly met,

“ A REMONSTRANCE, by the Mayor, Alder-
 “ men, and Common-council of the City of
 “ *Philadelphia*, in Behalf of the said City.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ You were lately called together upon more
 “ urgent Business than ever came before an As-
 “ sembly of this Province ; and while you have
 “ been sitting, scarce a Day has passed, wherein
 “ you have not heard of the inhuman Slaughter
 “ of your Fellow-subjects, and been loudly called
 “ upon for that *Protection*, which by the most
 “ sacred Ties you owe to the People.

“ On such an Emergency, we imagined that
 “ you had an easy and expeditious Mode of Pro-
 “ cedure before you ; namely, to postpone all
 “ Disputes to a more seasonable Time ; to grant
 “ the necessary Supplies on such Terms, as those
 “ on which the rest of his Majesty’s Colonies
 “ have granted large Sums for the like Purposes ;
 “ and lastly, to pass a *reasonable Law*, in order
 “ to collect and regulate the *Force of the Pro-*
 “ *vince*, for repelling the present cruel Invasion.
 “ Nevertheless, while you have been DELIBE-
 “ RATING, much innocent Blood hath been spilt ;
 “ a great Extent of our Country laid waste ; and
 “ the miserable Inhabitants scattered abroad be-
 “ fore the SAVAGE-SPOILER.

“ WHEREFORE, in the most solemn Manner,
 “ before God, and in the Name of all our Fel-
 “ low-

“ low-citizens, as you regard the Lives of the
 “ People whom you represent, we call upon
 “ you, we adjure you, nay we supplicate you,
 “ to give that *legal* Protection to your *bleeding*
 “ Country, which ought to be the chief Object
 “ of all Government at such a perilous Juncture
 “ as this. And let it be no longer said, that
 “ while we are daily hearing so much concern-
 “ ing *Privilege* and *Right*, we are, in the mean
 “ Time, deprived of that most essential *Right*
 “ and *great first Privilege*, (which GOD and NA-
 “ TURE gave us) of *defending* our LIVES and
 “ *protecting* our FAMILIES.

“ We profess the same Reasons for this Ap-
 “ plication, which determined many of the In-
 “ habitants of this City to make a like Applica-
 “ tion to you on the twelfth Instant; and as
 “ these Reasons now lie before you, we need
 “ not repeat them, any further than by observing
 “ that a well *regulated Militia* has always been
 “ found both the surest and least expensive *Me-*
 “ *thod of Defence*; and that, upon any other
 “ Plan, great Sums of Money must be thrown
 “ away to little Purpose, and the People thereby
 “ burdened with grievous Taxes.

“ Another Reason for thus applying to you,
 “ is the great Distress which this City, commit-
 “ ted to our Care, is like to labour under by
 “ the vast Increase of the Poor from all Parts
 “ of the Country, and the melancholy Prospect
 “ of having far greater Numbers of the unhappy
 “ Back-settlers driven in upon us from their Ha-
 “ bitations, and continually flying to the Shelter
 “ and Charity of the City, as the Place of great-
 “ est Safety. This must necessarily be prejudi-
 “ cial to the general Course of Business, and
 “ enhance the Value of all Necessaries, by in-
 “ creasing

“creasing the Number of Mouths, and at the
 “same time diminishing the Number of Hands
 “that should supply our Market ;—all which
 “will prove a Burden upon us too heavy to
 “bear.

“Seeing therefore our Affairs are brought to
 “such a Crisis, and as this our reasonable De-
 “mand cannot require much Time for your Con-
 “sideration, having already been so often made
 “to you by Petitions from all Parts of the Pro-
 “vince, we do earnestly recommend Dispatch
 “to you. For, as the People seem already in
 “a deplorable and desperate Condition, we fear
 “it will not be possible to preserve the Peace
 “and Quiet of this City, nor of the Province
 “itself, much longer, if some effectual Methods
 “are not speedily taken for their *general Defence*
 “and *Security*.

Nov. 24th, “By Order of the Board,
 1755.

“*William Plumsted*, Mayor.”

There was now a Flame rising in every Part of the Country, which the Assembly with all their Arts could not suppress. The People were daily suffering : They demanded Protection ; and they would listen to no insinuating Stories about Privileges and Liberty, while the Sword of the Enemy was at their Throat, ready to deprive them of their Lives and their Privileges together. On this Occasion, there was the fairest Chance of ridding our Assembly * of *Quakers* for ever,
 if

* There was another way of getting rid of them, by cutting their Throats ; which Expedient a great many sanguine People of the back Counties had resolved upon, and would certainly have executed, if great Pains had not been taken to prevent it, by Men who did not owe any such Kindness to those who would have been the first Sufferers.

if our Constitution had not this Absurdity in it, that there is not a Power of Dissolution in the Governor ;—a Power which no Country should be deprived of for the following Reasons, among many others that might easily be given :

1st. When Elections are periodical and stated, there is this manifest Inconvenience, that particular Men may at the Time of their Election be thought very fit Representatives, and yet before the Time of their Service is expired, Circumstances may be so altered, as to render them of all others the most unfit for such a Trust ; and therefore when such Circumstances arise, the People ought to have an Opportunity of shewing their Sense of the Fitness of their Representatives, by a new Election, in consequence of a Dissolution. Our own Case is a most flagrant Proof of this Inconvenience.

2. A second great Inconvenience is that, at the stated Times of Election, where they are periodical, Things may be so circumstanced, as that the Election ought to be put off, and the same Members continued, at least for some Time ; and therefore there should be always some Person empowered and qualified to judge at what Time the Attention of the People may be spared for the Business of Elections, with least Detriment to the Country ; and this requires, that such a Person should have both a Power of continuing and of *dissolving* the People's Representatives, as the public Good may require. We would also feel this Inconvenience greatly, if on the 1st Day of *October* next, every Man of us should be called to elect our Representatives, and oppose the Enemy at the same Instant in the Heart of the Country, which is a very possible Case.

But to proceed: Our Assembly saw that the People were become desperate, and would no longer be trifled with. Every Day brought Petitions, Remonstrances, and many other clamorous Things, signed by great Numbers of Hands, and all insisting upon a Militia-law in particular, as absolutely necessary to collect and conduct our natural Strength. To deny this just Request a Moment longer, was dangerous to the last Degree; and to comply with it would prove the Ruin of the Faction, as was shewn in the *Brief State* *. There was no Expedient left to ward off the Storm, but to frame a Sort of *Military-bill*, which would reduce the Governor to the following Dilemma.

First, if he refused to pass it as it was, or if he offered any Amendments to it, they were determined not to admit of one of them, but to quarrel with him on the Bill, and thus stop the Clamours of the People against themselves, by pretending that they had offered a Military-bill, but the Governor would not agree to it.

But if he should agree to it, they had taken Care of their Interest, by framing it in such a Manner, as to strip the Crown of some of its essential Prerogatives.

The Governor saw their Drift, and therefore as the Law was to continue in Force only about eleven Months, he knew that the People in that Time would be convinced of its Absurdity much better by feeling its Defects, than by any Attempt of his to point them out; and accordingly he immediately passed it †, to the great Mortification of the Assembly, who desired above all Things

* Page 16. Edition 1st.

† The Corporation Remonstrance was presented in the Morning of *November* the 25th; and this Law was passed in the Evening of the same Day.

Things that he might enter into a Dispute with them concerning it.

As soon as the Law was published, the People were exasperated at the Iniquity of it to the last Degree ; and there is not a single Man that has yet stirred in consequence of it. On the contrary, some Counties have already met and subscribed Remonstrances against it, as a Thing that they neither comprehend, nor will be concerned with, so that we are now in a worse State than ever ; and all our Hopes is, that a *proper Militia-law* will be framed for us, by his Majesty's Interposition, in consequence of our humble Petition for that Purpose.

But that you may have a more just Idea of this Law, I shall give you an *Abstract of it*, and then shew what Reasons the People have to be displeased with it.

“ An Act for the better ordering and regulating such as are *willing* and *desirous* to be united for Military Purposes within this Province.

“ —Whereas this Province was first settled by (and a *Majority* of the Assembly has ever since been of) the People called QUAKERS, who, tho' they do not, as the World is now circumstanced, condemn the Use of Arms in others, yet are principled against bearing Arms themselves ; and to make any Law to compel them thereto against their Consciences, would not only be to violate a Fundamental in our Constitution, and be a direct Breach of our Charter of Privileges, but would also in effect be to commence Persecution against all that Part of the Inhabitants of the Province ; and for them by any Law to compel others to bear Arms,

“ and except themselves, would be inconsistent
 “ and partial. Yet for as much as, by the general
 “ TOLERATION and Equity of *our* Laws,
 “ great Numbers of People of other religious De-
 “ nominations are come among *us*, who, being
 “ under no such Restraint, think it their Duty
 “ to fight in Defence of *their* Country, and there-
 “ fore have an equal Right to Liberty of Consci-
 “ ence with others: And *whereas* a great Number
 “ of *Petitions* from the several Counties of this
 “ Province have been presented to this House,
 “ representing that they are desirous of being
 “ united under legal Authority for Defence, and
 “ that without such Authority they cannot have
 “ Confidence in each other, nor assemble to op-
 “ pose the Enemy without the utmost Danger
 “ of exposing themselves to Confusion and De-
 “ struction:—And whereas we do not think it
 “ reasonable that any should, thro’ want of *legal*
 “ Powers, be restrained from doing what they
 “ judge it their Duty to do for *THEIR OWN*
 “ *Security*:

“ Wherefore be it enacted, *that* it shall and
 “ may be lawful for the *Freemen* of this Pro-
 “ vince, to form themselves into Companies, as
 “ heretofore they have used in Time of War
 “ without Law, and for each Company, by a
 “ Majority of Votes, in the way of Ballot, to
 “ chuse its own Officers, *to wit*, a Captain, Lieu-
 “ tenant, and Ensign, who, if approved and
 “ commissioned by the Governor for the Time
 “ being, shall be the Captain, &c. of each Com-
 “ pany respectively; and the said Companies be-
 “ ing *divided* into Regiments by the Governor,
 “ it shall be lawful for the Officers so chosen and
 “ commissioned to meet together, and by way
 “ of Ballot, to chuse a Colonel, Lieutenant-Co-
 “ lonel,

“ lonel, and Major, for the Regiment, and pre-
 “ sent them to the Governor for his Appro-
 “ bation.

“ Provided that if he shall not think fit to
 “ commission any Officer so first chosen and pre-
 “ sented, the Electors shall chuse two others,
 “ one of whom *shall* receive his Commission, and
 “ be the Officer as aforesaid.

“ When the said Companies and Regiments
 “ are thus formed, &c. it shall and may be law-
 “ ful for the Governor, by and with the Advice
 “ and Consent of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Co-
 “ lonels, and Majors of all the Regiments, being
 “ for that Purpose by him convened, to form
 “ and establish Articles of War, to erect and
 “ constitute Courts Martial, &c. &c. which
 “ Articles so made, shall be printed and read to
 “ the respective Companies ; and every Captain,
 “ Lieutenant, Ensign, and other Freeman, who
 “ shall, at *least* after three Days Consideration,
 “ *voluntarily* sign the same, shall thenceforth be
 “ deemed well and duly bound, and subject to
 “ the Pains, Penalties, Punishments, and For-
 “ feitures, that may therein be appointed for
 “ Disobedience and other Offences: *Provided*
 “ that such Articles be as near as possible con-
 “ formable to the Military-laws of *Great-Britain*,
 “ and to the last Act for punishing Mutiny and
 “ Desertion ; and *provided* also, that nothing in
 “ this Act shall give any Power to the Governor
 “ and said Officers, to make any Articles or
 “ Rules that shall in the least affect such as are
 “ *conscientiously* scrupulous of bearing Arms, ei-
 “ ther in their Liberties, Persons, or Estates.”

By the Preamble of this Law, you see that
 our Assembly are, and have always been *Quakers*,

and that they are still *principled* against bearing Arms. What can be more absurd than such a Declaration from those who are in the room of our *Protectors*? That which is the chief Design of Government, they declare they can have nothing to do with! But then they are graciously pleased to tell us, that they will not condemn us if we risk our Lives to save their Scalps, together with that Government which they will allow us no Share of. And they give an excellent Reason for this; *viz.* that because they are absurdly principled against bearing Arms themselves, they must not, by any means, be inconsistent with this Absurdity, by making a Law that requires others to bear Arms. Those who are *willing* and *desirous* may, if they please, defend the Province; but in case a sufficient Number are *not willing and desirous* to defend it, we will not provide for its Safety, as other Provinces have done for theirs, by compulsive Methods, nor depart one Jot from our Principles, if it were to save it from Destruction. Neither will we give up the Government to others who would take Care of its Defence; for the Laws are all *ours*, the Country is *ours*; and tho' it be true that great Numbers of People, of other religious Denominations, are come among us, yet they came by our *Toleration*.

And now what more need be said to shew how unjustly this Province is swayed by a Faction, and sacrificed to their separate Interests. Our very Laws themselves breathe the Spirit, and speak the Language, of a Faction, who tell us that we are all *tolerated* only by their Grace and Favour. And yet these high and mighty *Lords*, who speak so loudly of *tolerating* others, can plead no Establishment in their own Behalf. They are

far from being the * oldest Settlers here, and still farther from being the most numerous. Nor are we in the least indebted to them or their Laws for our Right of Settlement. The Royal and Proprietary Charters, from which their Laws themselves derive their whole Force, have secured the Enjoyment of free and equal Rights, to the *Church of England* in particular, and in general to all who believe in ONE GOD.

I have taken the more Notice of this Preamble, to shew the haughty and partial Manner, in which our Law-makers treat the good People of this Province, insinuating that other religious Denominations are not upon an equal Footing with themselves. As to the Law itself, the People object to it chiefly for the following Reasons.

1st, There is no Mode of Election prescribed; no Persons being appointed to call the People together, or to preside in their Ballotting, so that it is only by Chance that they are to meet and chuse their Officers.

2dly, The Method of executing the Law is extremely indirect and dilatory; and half the Term of its Continuance may be expired, as well as half the People of the Province murdered, before any thing can be done in consequence of it. For when the former Difficulty is by Chance got over, and the inferior Officers chosen, they are to be returned to the Governor; and then to be approved by him (if he likes them); and then to have their Commissions made out; and then they are to meet (if any one happens to call them) to chuse Field-officers; and then these also are to be approved by the Governor; and then commissioned; and then to be convened in a Sort of Parliament; and then to propose

* The *Swedes* and *Low Dutch* first settled the Country.

propose and debate upon Articles of War, and then to print these Articles, and then to distribute and read them to the Companies, and then the Companies to consider upon them at *least* three Days, and then to sign them if they please, and perhaps not to sign them after all ; and then we are just where we began ; with this sad Difference, that all private Associations for Defence are dissolved by the Name of a Military Law ; and all the while that our Assembly are devising Expedients, and making Experiments of unprecedented Laws, to suit their Republican Schemes of Power, many innocent Persons are paying their Life's Blood as the Price of such Madness and Obstinacy. Surely no one would imagine that ever such a Law as this was made to answer an Emergency, when the Enemy were burning and slaying, and when a Moment's Time was not to be lost that could possibly be saved !

3dly, The Partiality of the Law, and the unrighteous Exemption it gives to particular Persuasions, without any Equivalent to the Public for such an Indulgence, highly disgusts the People, as it leaves them to defend with their Blood a Set of Men who have engrossed almost all the Advantages of that Government, from the Defence of which they have so unjustly exempted themselves, which is putting the greater Part of the Province upon a most slavish and unequal Footing. On this Head the People reason as follows.

Defence is the common Duty of all who receive *Protection*. Two Things are absolutely necessary for *Defence* ; BODILY FORCE, and MONEY, which is the *Sinews* of *Force*. In Cases where the *whole Force* of the Community may be requisite for its Defence, the *Law* itself

cannot dispense with the *bodily Force* of any Number of Individuals, without violating the antecedent Laws of natural Equity, and the fundamental Principles of Society. But where the whole Force of the Community may not be requisite, the Law may absolve a few from their Share in the *one Part* of Defence, provided they contribute more than their Share towards the *other*. On this Principle, some are exempted from bearing Arms in Consideration of their contributing more than their Share of *Money*, or perhaps *Ingenuity*; while others are exempted from paying of Money in Consideration of their *making Arms their Trade*, and consequently giving more than their Share of *personal Force*.

Now say the People in this Province, as we hope the Time will never come when the whole personal Force of this Community may be requisite to its Defence, we should most heartily and charitably excuse Consciences really scrupulous of bearing Arms, if the Law, which exempts them, had provided for their paying an Equivalent over and above their proper Quota of Money for the Indulgence of sitting at Home to get rich by their Industry, while we are spending our Blood and our Time in the common Cause. But, far from this, the present *Law* leaves us in a worse Condition than that in which it found us. It deprives us of our natural Rights, and unjustly exempts one Party from that which is the Business of every Party. For while we defended the Country without a Law, we could at least tell those who were benefited by us, that they owed us some Return of Kindness; but as the Law now stands we have not even an Opportunity of making any Persons think themselves obliged to us in this Respect; and, if in the least we affect
any

any of those, either in their *Persons* or *Estates*, who refuse to assist us in the Defence both of their *Persons* and *Estates*, we are liable to an Action of Damages for doing a public Service.

Thus a Law which ought to have provided for the Defence of the Province has made it lawful for any one, or for every one, at Pleasure, to refuse acting in its Defence; and that Compulsion, which in Cases of Extremity would be just by the Laws of Nature, is now declared unjust by the Laws of our Country; which Laws must therefore themselves be highly unjust.

4^{thly}, The Law substitutes a new Legislature, who may, if they please, enact the severest military Articles, and prevent our defending our Country unless we subject ourselves to the rigid Discipline of Mercenaries, which, however necessary in their Case, we cannot think so necessary in a voluntary Association of Freemen, who would much rather serve on the common Plan of Militias.

5^{thly}, Moreover, tho' we have necessarily trusted the supreme Authority of the Province with a Power of making Laws to affect Life and Property; yet we conceive this to be a Trust of so sacred a Nature, that it never can be delegated to any others than those to whom it was originally given. It would seem from this that if our Assembly could secure their own Party, they care not how severe the Laws may be that are extended to other Parties; unless this be meant as an Expedient to render all military Laws unpopular for the future. Certainly if our Assembly's Consciences do not allow them to meddle in Matters so nearly interesting our Liberties and Rights, as the Ascertainment of the Terms on which we are to meet and defend our Country,

it

it is high Time for them to resign the important Trusts they hold.

These are some of the many Objections against this Law on the Part of the People. The Governor likewise has much Reason to object against it on the Part of the Crown, which is deprived of that necessary Security which it ought to have over the *Militia*, by the Appointment of the Officers. And as this Province is circumstanced, such a Security is peculiarly requisite, and the Want of it might be dangerous, were the Law to be carried into Execution as it stands. For tho' it provides very particularly for signing of Articles, &c. yet neither the Electors nor Elected are required to take the common Qualifications to the Government. Besides the Foreigners in the Province, among whom are many *Roman Catholics*, will have it in their Power to elect the chief Part of the Officers, who will in all Probability be Foreigners also; and what Security we may have in such a Militia, I shall not take upon me to determine, especially as the Officers, whether foreign or home-born, are so entirely dependent on the Breath of the People.

Having thus given an Account of the military Law, and the Means by which it was obtained, I must observe to you that the Day * before it was passed, about four Hundred of the Inhabitants, chiefly *Dutch*, of the best Sort, from the back Parts of *Philadelphia* County, not knowing what was done, and being unable to sit still any longer, came down to the City in a peaceable and orderly Manner. Some People being alarmed at the Approach of such a Body towards the City, the Governor sent the Sheriff out to enquire what their Intentions were. They replied,

L

that

* November 24th.

that they were friendly, and that they came unarmed, as Children to their Fathers, imploring Protection, and a Suspension of all unnecessary Disputes to another Season. Grief and deep Distress were painted in their Looks. They first waited upon the Governor, who came out and spoke to them with the greatest Humanity and Regard. He told them that it was not his Fault they remained unprotected—He had always been, and now was, ready to agree to any reasonable Law for their Defence which the Assembly might offer; and at the same Time he acquainted them, that he had two Days before, received a Letter from the Proprietaries, ordering *a free Gift of five thousand Pounds* to be applied towards their Relief in the present Emergency; which Letter he shewed to some of the Heads of the People. Their Countenances seemed to brighten at the joyful Tidings, and they departed pouring forth Blessings and Acclamations!

They then went to the Assembly, and having with Difficulty procured Admission, they laid their Grievances before them. The Assembly attempted to throw the Blame on the Governor, and asked the People, if they would be pleased to have their *Liberties* given up. The People replied, that they neither would nor could enter into the Merits of the present Disputes; that they wanted Protection, and did not understand what Liberties they had to give up when their Lives were every Hour in Danger. The Assembly seeing what turn Things were like to take, thought fit to promise them immediate Relief; and accordingly a Bill granting sixty thousand Pounds to the King's Use, including the Proprietary Gift of five thousand Pounds, was sent up to the Governor the next Day, which he passed

passed immediately, as he would have done four Months before, had the Assembly then thought fit to allow the Governor a Voice in the Disposition of the Money, and to depart for a while at least from their most unjust Proposal of taxing their Proprietors by Persons who in no Shape represent them; both which they consented to at last, when they could carry their Opposition no farther.

Thus have I given you a full Account of this extraordinary Debate, which was carried on for four whole Months, as if it had been a Contest *pro Aris & Focis*. And yet, by a fair Calculation, it would not have eased the Taxables in this Province above Two-pence Sterling one with another; and therefore it might easily have been given up on the Part of the Assembly, as no preceding Assembly had ever attempted to lay such a Tax before; whereas, on the Part of the Proprietors, I have shewn that it could not be given up, without giving up their Rights both as *Englishmen*, and as chief Governors of the Province.

Now, that it was not the Value of the Proprietary-tax, but the Power of taxing, which the Assembly aimed at all this while, was early discovered, by their refusing the Value when offered by the voluntary Subscription of several Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, who being sincerely affected to see such an unreasonable Dispute introduced, humbly *prayed* the Assembly to accept of their said Subscription as the full Value of the Proprietary-tax, that the distressed back Settlers might obtain immediate Relief, till such Time as this new Dispute could be settled in the proper Manner. But this Proposal they rejected with Scorn, as also another made by the Gover-

nor (and mentioned above) for framing a separate and equitable Bill, to tax the Proprietors by Assessors to be partly chosen by the Governor, and partly by the Assembly; with a suspending Clause, submitting it to his Majesty's Royal Determination, whether the Proprietary Estate was taxable or not.

But none of these Expedients suited the Assembly's Plan. The Distress of their Country was their Opportunity, and they were determined, that if they must sacrifice their Principles, by levying Money on the *Quakers for Defence*, they should obtain a full Equivalent by the Accomplishment of their iniquitous Scheme of assuming to themselves all the Rights of Government, and thereby gratifying their unjust Resentment against a Family to which they owe the highest Obligations, and whose single Offence against them is perhaps the leaving their religious Society, and preferring the general Interest of the Province, to that of the *Quaker Hierarchy*.

I hope you will not imagine that I have been too circumstantial in these Matters, or that I make them of more Importance than they really are. The Conduct of this rich and populous Province, has so close a Connexion with every Scheme that is projected for the Good of these Colonies, and the *Quaker Politics* have so pernicious an Influence upon the Conduct of the Province, that I could not, with any Justice, be less circumstantial in my Account of these Facts and Anecdotes concerning them, which I have endeavoured, as far as Time would permit, to lay together in a Manner that may prove least tedious to the Reader.

It is true, one Point is carried, and the Money is obtained. But how was it obtained? Were they not evidently forced into a Compliance? and had I any Grounds to think that they have resolved to change their Conduct for the future, I should, on this Occasion, have been silent as the Grave. But, alas! if any Man can think thus of them, he knows them not! While they continue to keep the Power solely in their own Hands, it will be as impossible to reconcile Light and Darkeness, as to make them prefer the general Interests of the Province to that of their own Party, till Things are brought to the very last Extremity. We should have the same Disputes acted over again, were it necessary to propose another Money-Bill to-morrow. And what honest Heart can be silent while such a dismal Prospect lies before us? Most certainly we have suffered too much from their idle Disputes already, and I am pained at my very Heart to reflect upon what we have suffered!

Indeed, had there been no Inconveniences arising from their Conduct but the Loss of Time, they might be forgiven! Nay, had the Loss of our Property, and the laying waste a great Part of the Province, been the only Losses sustained, these also, by future Industry, might have been repaired. But, alas! who shall gather up the innocent Blood that has been spilt upon our Borders, and in the very Heart of our Country, during their obstinate Continuance of a most insignificant Debate; and their more obstinate Refusal to frame a proper Militia Law.

For my part, I bear the *Quakers* no Ill-will, as they are Men: In that Capacity they have never offended me, and I wish them well. But, as they are *Rulers, Assembly-Men, Politicians,*
and

and unrighteous *Monopolizers of Power*, pursuing separate Interests from their Country, and sacrificing the Majority of their Fellow-Subjects to these dirty Interests :—I say, in this Capacity, I am at mortal Enmity with them, and look upon them as Enemies to their Country, as well as acting directly contrary to those Principles which their Forefathers have professed to the World. For, if they were really that meek and *primitive* People they pretend to be, would they delight to embroil themselves in Government, at a Time when they are avowedly unfit for it, and thereby fill their Country with Discord, Confusion, and Misery ? And all the while they are doing this, they very *civilly* tell us, that it is for our Good that it should be so ; and that all their *Debates* are for the *Preservation* of our LIBERTIES !—Most consummate Impudence ! What Liberties have we worth preserving, when the Legislature is a *Junto* ; when the greater Part of the Province is injuriously denied its due Proportion of Representatives ; when one Persuasion claims an exclusive Right of Government ; and when we are left at the Mercy of our Enemies, deprived of the *great first Privilege of Nature*, the Privilege of *defending* our LIVES, and *protecting* our Families, unless we will at the same Time *defend* the Lives, and protect the *Families of our haughty Masters*, without the least Recompence or Reward, unless they graciously think fit to bestow it on us.

While these Things are so, I will represent, I will remonstrate, nay, I will solemnly protest against such *established Iniquity*, and will never be silent till I see *Justice triumphant*, the People *protected*, and the Avenues of *public Trust* and *Preferment* opened to Men of *public Merit* and

Inte-

Integrity, of whatsoever Denomination or Party. And as long as I am conscious of pursuing this Plan, the Terms of Reproach thrown out against me by a Faction, I shall consider as *Epithets of Honour*. And thus I think I may justly conclude at large with the Lines from which I took my Motto, as they were never more applicable than in the present Case; for our *Senators* are great Admirers of the *Venetian* Constitution.

“ *Jaffier* ! I’d be a most notorious Villain,
 “ To see the *Sufferings* of my Fellow-Creatures,
 “ And own myself a Man. To see our Senators
 “ Cheat the deluded People with a *Shew*
 “ Of LIBERTY, which yet they never taste of.
 “ They say by them our Hands are free from
 “ Fetters,
 “ Yet whom they please they bring to Shame
 “ and Sorrow,
 “ Drive us like Wrecks down the rough Tide of
 “ Power,
 “ While there’s no *Hold* to save us from De-
 “ struction.—
 “ All that bear this are Villains, and I one
 “ Did I not rise, *at the great Call of Nature*,
 “ To check the Growth of these DOMESTIC
 “ SPOILERS,
 “ Who make us Slaves, and tell us—’tis our
 “ CHARTER.”

I am, &c.

Philadelphia,
 December 8, 1755.

P O S T.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Send you the following POSTSCRIPT to my long Letter. The SCALPING continues! Yesterday the *Dutch* brought down for upwards of 60 Miles, in a Waggon, the Bodies of some of their Countrymen who had been just scalped by the *Indians*, and threw them at the *Stadt-House* Door, cursing the *Quakers* Principles, and bidding the Committee of Assembly behold the Fruits of their Obstinacy, and confess that their pretended Sanctity would not save the Province without the Use of Means; at the same Time threatening, that if they should come down on a like Errand again, and find nothing done for their Protection, the Consequences should be fatal.—A *Dutch Mob* is a terrible Thing; but Methods are taking to pacify them, and prevent it.

December 15th.

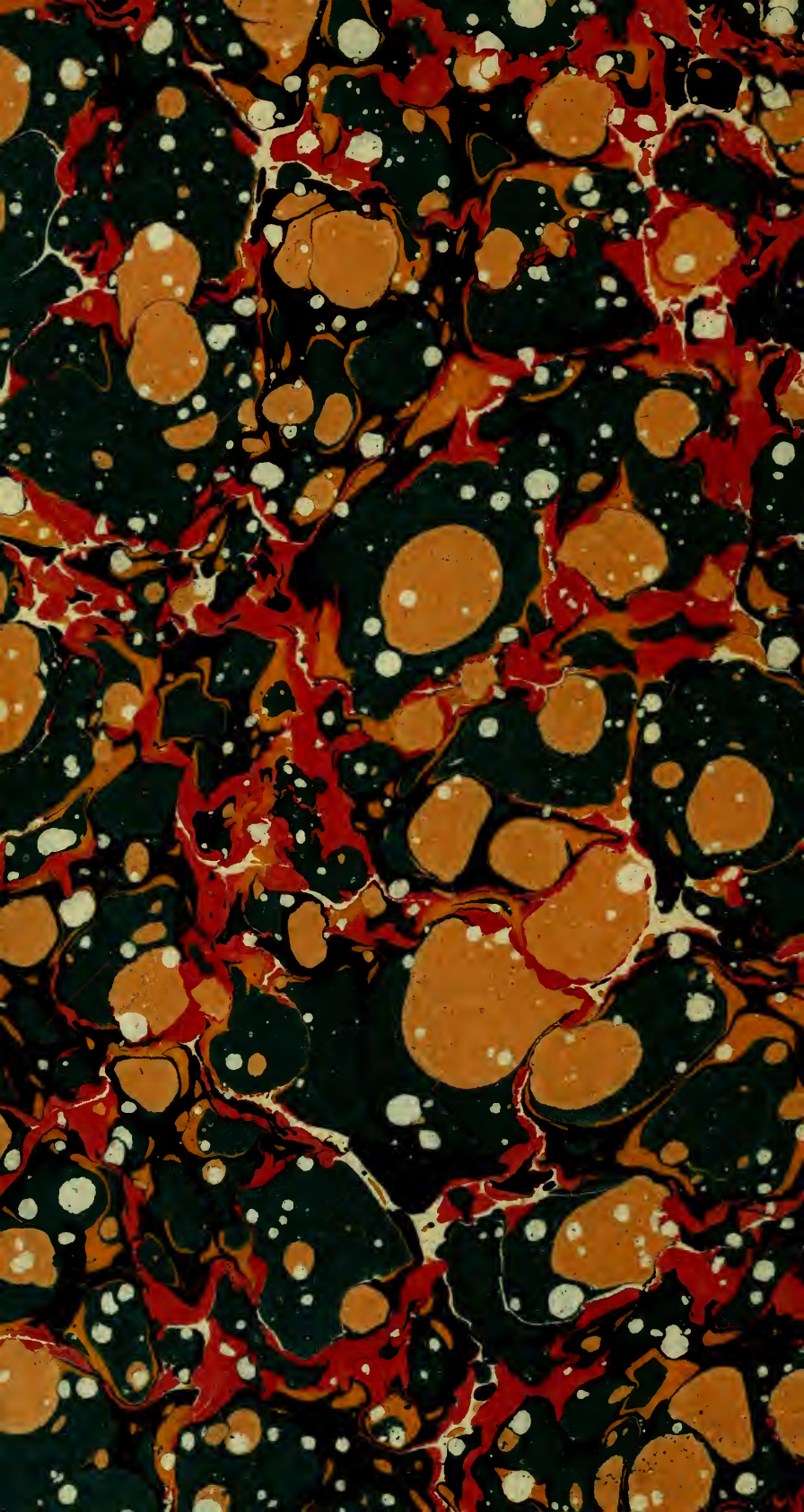
F I N I S.

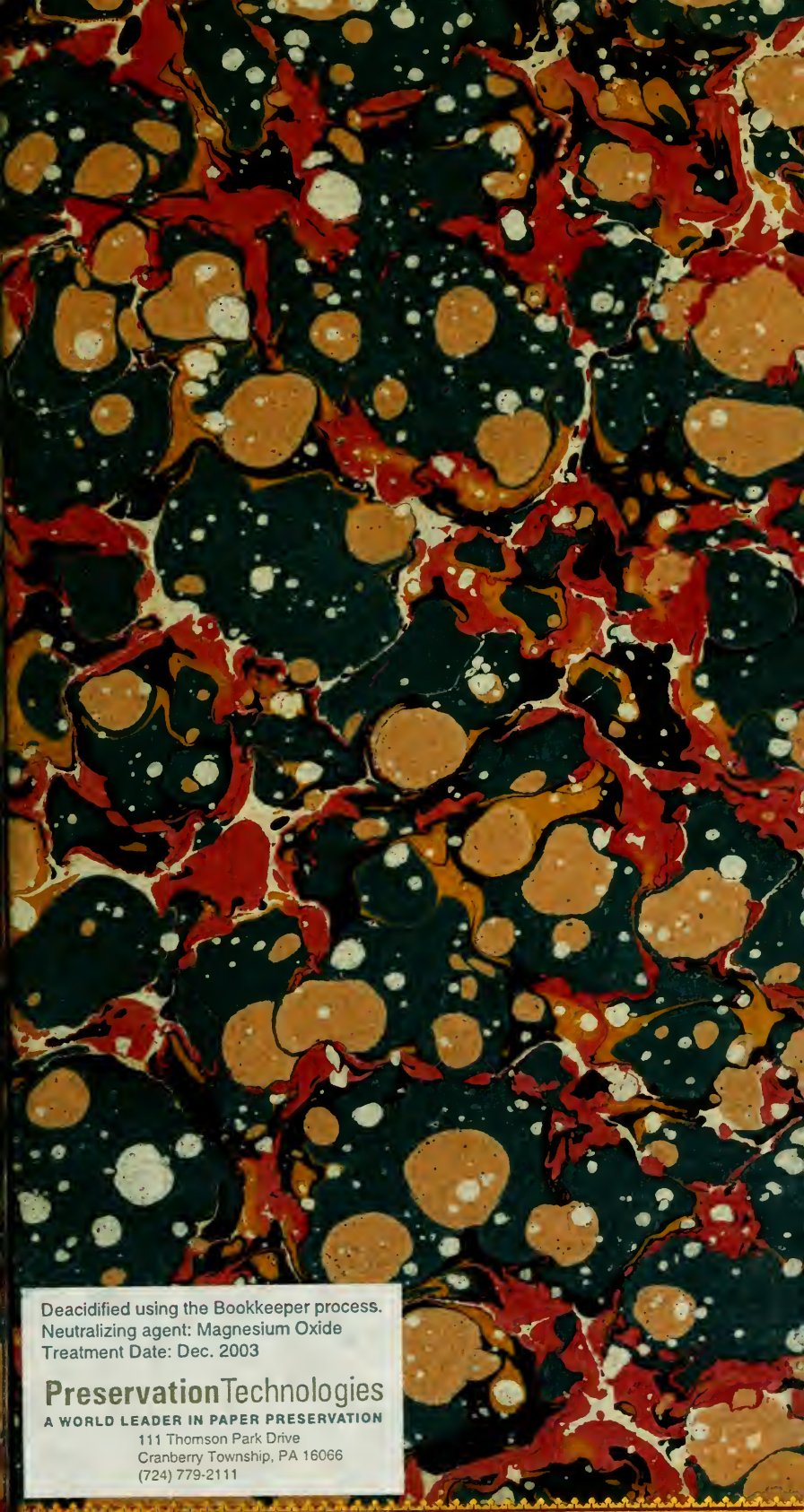
London, Feb. 2, 1756.

In a few Days will be published, Price One Shilling,
The THIRD EDITION of

A Brief State of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, in which the Conduct of their ASSEMBLIES for several Years past is impartially examined; and the true Cause of the continual Encroachments of the *French* displayed, more especially the secret Design of their late unwarrantable Invasion and Settlement upon the River *Ohio*. To which is annexed, an easy PLAN for restoring Quiet in the public Measures of that Province, and defeating the ambitious Views of the *French* in time to come. In a LETTER from a Gentleman who has resided many Years in *Pennsylvania* to his Friend in *London*.







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